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ABSTRACT

This study is an examination of black and white preadults' cognitive and affective orientations to their nation, social power, government, authority, and laws. The data were collected by means of tape recorded interviews with 96 students attending public schools in Buffalo, New York, which were transcribed, coded, and analyzed in an attempt to chart developmental patterns in preadults' orientations to politics. The results reveal that preadults' orientations are influenced by the level of cognitive development attained by that individual. Piaget's theory of cognitive development is shown to be useful in interpreting most of the major changes that take place in the preadult's developing orientations to politics. The findings are discussed in terms of their implications for curriculum development and classroom teaching in the social studies area. Appendices include the interview schedule, code book, a nation-nationality master code, government master code, authority leadership master code, and law master code. (Author/KSM)

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John J. Fitzpatrick
Iowa State University
Ames, Iowa 50010

July 19, 1974

The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a grant with the National Institute of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Contractors undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgment in the conduct of the project. Points of view or opinions stated do not, therefore, necessarily represent official National Institute of Education position or policy.

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AUTHOR'S ABSTRACT

This study is an examination of black and white pre-adults' cognitive and affective orientations to their nation, to social power, to government, to authority, and to laws. The data for the study were collected by means of tape recorded interviews with ninety-six students attending public schools in Buffalo, New York. Twenty-four students were selected from each of grades two, five, eight, and eleven. The tape recorded interviews were transcribed, coded, and analyzed in an attempt to chart developmental patterns in pre-adults' orientations to politics.

The results reveal that pre-adults' orientations to their nation and to various political objects are influenced by the level of cognitive development attained by the pre-adult. Piaget's theory of cognitive development was shown to be useful in interpreting most of the major changes that take place in the pre-adult's developing orientations to politics.

In this report, the pre-adult's developing orientations toward politics were discussed in terms of their implications for curriculum development and classroom teaching in the social studies area.

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PREFACE

This research project involved the coding and analysis of data collected in 1969 as part of my dissertation research at the State University of New York at Buffalo.

For financial assistance in the data collection phase of this project, thanks are due to the National Science Foundation, to the Faculty of Social Sciences and Administration, State University of New York at Buffalo, and to the Department of Political Science, State University of New York at Buffalo.

For financial assistance in the analysis phase of this project, thanks are due to the National Institute of Education and to the Department of Political Science, Iowa State University.

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CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

This research report describes the results of a study of the political orientations of ninety-six students attending public schools in Buffalo, New York. The students (aged 7-18) were asked several open-ended questions designed to tap their general conceptions of and beliefs about the nation, authority and authority figures, politics and power in society, rules and laws, and moral behavior. The responses of the students were tape recorded, transcribed, coded, and analyzed in the view that the assembled data would shed some light on the political socialization or citizenship training function of the school. The data reported here will be useful to educators planning social studies curricula and to teachers of social studies in both elementary and secondary schools.

Background of the Study and Reivew of Previous Literature

Political socialization can be defined as the process by which individuals acquire and form their politically relevant attitudes, beliefs, values, and role orientations. This process begins quite early in life and extends throughout the life cycle. If one wishes to understand the political beliefs and political behavior of individuals, it is obviously important to attempt to understand the "how," "when," and "why" of the processes by which they acquire their beliefs and behavioral predispositions. But the study of political socialization is also important for understanding the political system itself, for ultimately the system and its institutions, processes, values, and policies are structured by the behavioral and attitudinal inputs of its citizens.

From the viewpoint of the system, the political socialization of young children is far too important a process to be left to chance. Thus the system, through various social agencies, engages in political socialization, or what is often called citizenship training. Citizenship training involves the learning of various activities: children must learn to love and respect their country; they must learn to respect and obey the duly promulgated laws in society; they must learn to respect the duly constituted authority figures; they must learn how to participate in the political system; and they must learn eventually to take their place as leaders in the political system.

Recognizing the importance of the socialization process within the political system, scholars from the fields of political science, education, psychology, and sociology have recently become increasingly interested in describing and evaluating that process.[1] Among the general findings emerging from these recent studies of the socialization process are the following: (1) One of the earliest orientations learned by children involves a strong and stable attachment to the nation; (2) The initial orientations of children to authority figures--both political and non-political--are generally highly positive in nature; (3) Very early in life, children "adopt" the political party preference of their parents, (4) At first, children personalize and personify the government and only later do they begin to understand the more complex institutions and processes that play so important a role in the conduct of public affairs; (5) The two most important agents in the political

socialization process are the family and the school.

What role does the school play in political socialization or citizenship training? The school would seem to play a very important role for the following reasons: (1) Through its curriculum--in civics, government, social studies, and history, particularly--it transmits political knowledge directly to students; (2) Through its curriculum, it transmits political attitudes, values, and beliefs both directly and indirectly to students; (3) Through its daily rituals--the raising of the flag, the singing of patriotic songs, the honor paid to national heroes and events--it influences the attitudes, values, and beliefs of students; (4) Through the interaction of students and teachers, who serve as authority figures and representatives of society, it can influences the students' later orientations to political authorities; (5) As a meeting place for students, it serves as a forum where political attitudes, beliefs, and values may be exchanged and debated, both informally and, sometimes, formally.[2]

However, despite the fact that political scientists and educators have long recognized the important role played by the school in citizenship training, relatively little research has been produced which can be useful to educators--curriculum planners and teachers--concerned with the child's learning of political beliefs. There are two reasons for this paradox.

First, in recent years, educators and political scientists alike have been more concerned with studying the attitudes of youth than with investigating their cognitions of political objects or the meaning of political concepts to them. However, it is hardly fruitful to know the number of children who agree with the statement, "America is the best country in the world," when it is not clear what the concept America means to them. This problem of meaning is especially acute in light of the evidence that children at the youngest ages often find political concepts confusing. For example, Hess and Torney report that in one of their pre-tests, "sixty percent of a group of 4th graders /N=87/ expressed agreement with the statement, 'The government is a man'."[3]

In light of the obvious problems occasioned by the lack of knowledge of what the stimuli presented in structured interviews mean to children of elementary school age, it would appear necessary for students of political socialization to retreat a step and to attempt to come to grips with the preliminary problem of the meaning of concepts for children before further attitudinal surveys are attempted.

One possible strategy for investigating the problem of meaning involves the use of what is often called the "clinical method," which combines relatively unstructured questions with constant, guided probing. This method permits the use of question wordings appropriate to the age and intelligence levels of the respondents. It also permits a deep probing of the respondents' understanding of the meaning of the concepts central to the investigation. In addition, it alleviates the serious problem of reliability encountered in using structured items with children. (Hess and Torney, for example, report that the median of stability coefficients for thirty structured items asked of second graders was a weak .38.)[4]

Thus, the clinical method can improve the reliability and the validity of research on children's political beliefs, for it allows the child to supply his own frame of reference to questions on politics and to communicate that frame of reference to the interviewer. In contrast, highly structured pencil and paper questionnaires force the child to adopt the frame of reference of the (adult) designer of the questionnaire.

The second area in which students of political learning have been remiss concerns the actual process of socialization and the learning mechanisms which are operative in that process. As noted above, students of political socialization have been content merely to collect data on preadults' attitudes and beliefs. But, it is not always possible to move from attitude survey data to an understanding of how people develop their beliefs. What is needed then is for students of political socialization to become more explicitly involved with linking their research to more general theories of the processes of learning and socialization.

The research reported here attempts to avoid these two related shortcomings of previous political socialization research. First, the data were collected by means of in-depth interviews. Students were deliberately not questioned about their attitudes on ephemeral political issues. Instead, a concerted effort was made to explore the meaning of political and politically relevant concepts to them.

Second, this research project was explicitly guided by the cognitive developmental model of learning. As formulated by Jean Piaget, this model posits a series of invariant stages in the cognitive development of preadults.[5] The research reported here attempts to link the development of political beliefs and ideas to the more general area of cognitive development.

To date, there have been only two serious attempts to link the preadult's political beliefs to his general level of cognitive development.

The better of the two studies is reported in R. W. Connell's The Child's Construction of Politics. Connell displays a sensitive awareness of the thought patterns of young children as they grapple with difficult to understand political phenomena. But Connell's study is of limited utility to American educators since his subjects were Australian children.

In Children and Civic Awareness: A Study in Political Education, Charles Andrain also addresses the question of the role of cognitive development in political learning and political education. Andrain's work is more systematic and less impressionistic than Connell's. But Andrain achieves this precision by abandoning the techniques of the clinical method in favor of the pencil and paper questionnaire. Consequently, he does not (indeed, cannot) adequately address himself to the meaning of political concepts to children.

Scope and Limitations of this Research Report

This research report analyzes a set of data collected by means of tape-recorded interviews with ninety-six pre-adults attending public schools in Buffalo, New York during the spring of 1969. Twenty-four students were randomly selected at each of grades two, five, eight, and eleven. At each grade level, thirteen of the respondents were blacks and eleven were whites.

The students were asked a series of questions about the meaning of certain political concepts to them. They were also questioned as to their beliefs about and evaluations of various political institutions and processes. In general, the questions focused on the students' attitudes and beliefs about the nation, about politics and social power, about government, about authority and authorities, and about law. No questions on political issues or public policy were included.

Throughout this report, an effort is made to identify developmental patterns in the political learning of children and to link these patterns to more general patterns of cognitive development. Thus, the analysis utilizes age as the most important criterion variable.

A secondary concern of this research project was to compare patterns of political learning among black and white pre-adults, hence the approximately equal number of blacks and whites in the sample. The analysis that follows makes comparisons between black and white pre-adults where the analysis of the data revealed significantly different developmental patterns.

Because the purpose of this research project was to chart developmental patterns of learning, this report follows a style of presentation that is highly ideographic in nature. In a very real sense, this is an exploratory study and it is the purpose of this report to suggest hypotheses and theories rather than to test hypotheses and theories.

The size of the sample upon which this study is based, the limitations imposed by the geographical base of the sample, and the limitations imposed by the age span of the students selected all dictate caution in generalizing from the findings reported here to all American youth. Still, the analysis of the data reported here does constitute an important first step toward an understanding of the child's political world. Moreover, there are several ways in which the research reported here, even with its limitations, can be useful to American educators.

First, the data will provide educators with a better understanding of the political thinking of children at various age levels and a better understanding of the meaning of political concepts to children.

Second, this research can provide American educators with a better understanding of the relationship of political learning to general cognitive development.

Third, by linking political learning to a more general model of learning and cognitive development, this research will provide insights for teachers and curriculum planners who have to make judgments about when various political ideas and concepts can best be introduced to children. Abstract concepts and ideas which cannot be assimilated by the cognitive structure of the child are not learned or, more correctly, not properly learned. Rather, these concepts are restructured by the child so that they "fit" with his existing thought patterns. This may result in an incorrect or "retarded" understanding of political ideas or values which can be resistant to change.

Finally, this research will assist school officials, teachers, and curriculum planners as they seek to improve the school's performance of its political socialization function. In that sense, the implications of this research go far beyond the field of education to speak to the very nature of our society and polity.

CHAPTER II. METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES

The sample upon which this study is based is composed of ninety-six pre-adults attending public schools in Buffalo, New York. The two factors of importance in this study, and, hence, the two factors of importance in selecting the sample, were race and age (grade in school).

Splitting the sample as to race was relatively easy. Since the Buffalo schools, like the schools in most cities, are still largely segregated because of residential patterns within the city, two samples were drawn, one from a set of schools with predominantly white students and one from a set of schools with predominantly black students. The white schools sampled were an elementary school (grades 1-8) and the high school into which it "feeds." The primarily black schools sampled included one elementary school (grades 1-6), one junior high school (grades 7-9), and one high school (grades 10-12). Students in both the elementary school and the junior high school generally go on to attend the high school sampled.

Within each school system, twelve students were selected from each of grades two, five, eight, and eleven. In the two elementary schools, it was possible to select those students to be interviewed by means of a table of random numbers. In the junior high and high schools, this proved to be administratively impossible. Instead, respondents were selected by choosing the n^{th} person in row 'm' from each home room.

Participation in the research project was voluntary; and where it was judged advisable by school officials, written permission to participate in the interviews was obtained from the parents of the children. So that bias due to self-selection would be minimized, a strong effort was made to interview those students originally selected. This proved to be fairly successful. In the original sample of ninety-six, only five substitutions were necessary. These substitutions were taken from a list of "alternates" chosen at the same time as the original sample by similar procedures.

All of the individuals in the sample from the primarily black schools are blacks. In the sample from the primarily white schools, there are forty-four whites and four blacks; the ratio is eleven to one at each grade level.

It is impossible to be very exact about the socio-economic status of the students in the sample since questions concerning parental income or education were strongly discouraged by school officials. However, some description of the neighborhoods from which these schools draw students is possible and may shed some light on the socio-economic status levels of the groups of students. The neighborhoods from which the primarily white schools draw students are relatively "stable" neighborhoods of one- and two-family, owner occupied dwellings. The median property value of these homes was, in 1960, about $13,000 (see Table 1). The occupants of these homes were, for the most part, middle class individuals with white-collar or "skilled" blue-collar occupations. The median family income in these neighborhoods was considerably higher than it was in the neighborhoods served by the primarily black schools sampled.

Table 1. Selected census tract facts, by school neighborhood[a]

	Neighborhood				
	WES[b]	WHS	BES	BJHS	BHS
Per cent change in population 1950-60	-4.1%	-6.0%	-2.2%	-17.6%	-13.3%
Per cent non-white population 1960	0.2%	1.2%	72.5%	71.4%	67.9%
Median property value of owner occupied housing units 1960	$13,500	$12,925	$11,000	$7,425	$8,150
Per cent of housing dilapidated or deteriorating 1960	3.0%	2.1%	14.9%	39.6%	34.5%
Median family income 1959	$6,807	$6,183	$5,487	$3,941	$4,325
Median school years completed 1960	10.7	10.2	9.5	8.4	8.7

[a]Source: Tract Facts for the Buffalo Area, compiled and published by the Community Welfare Council of Buffalo and Erie County, 1964.

[b]WES = primarily white elementary school
WHS = primarily white high school, avg. of census tracts
BES = primarily black elementary school
BJHS = primarily black junior high school, avg. of census tracts
BHS = primarily black high school, avg. of census tracts.

In contrast to the stability and relative affluence of the neighborhoods served by the white school system, the neighborhoods served by the junior high and high schools of the black school system were what is sometimes euphemistically called "deteriorating" neighborhoods. The white migration from these neighborhoods, which began in the 1940's and 1950's, is now almost totally complete. The property values of the homes are low and the percentage of the homes classified by the 1960 census as "dilapidated or deteriorating" is high. The median family income in these neighborhoods was, in 1960, less than two-thirds that of the neighborhoods served by the primarily white schools. The neighborhood served by the elementary school in the primarily black school system lies between the two extremes just presented. There, the median family income in 1960 was moderately high, the

property values were relatively high and the percentage of homes classified as deteriorating or dilapidated was less than half that of the other neighborhoods served by the black school system. This neighborhood is home for most of Buffalo's black middle class citizens.

Since the data on the socio-economic status of the students in the sample are so imprecise, no detailed analysis based on socio-economic status will be possible. However, it will be useful to bear in mind in the analysis chapters the probable socio-economic status disparities between the black and white respondents, especially the respondents at the two highest grade levels.

The data for this study were collected by means of tape-recorded interviews conducted in the schools during the school day. The Interview Schedule used was devised by this investigator. It is attached as Appendix A to this Report. The average time required for each interview was approximately one hour and forty-five minutes. Because of the length of the interview and the possibility of respondent (and interviewer) fatigue, the interviews were conducted in two or more sittings. These sittings were arranged to occur as close together in time as possible and often took place on the same day.

In the interviews, respondents and interviewers were matched as to race, with one major exception: this investigator conducted the interviews with the black second graders. This exception appeared to have a major inhibiting effect on only one or two of the respondents, although it is possible that other respondents were also affected.

In asking the substantive questions, the interviewers were given some latitude in rewording the questions to make them appropriate to the age-level of the respondent. However, they were instructed not to "lead" the respondents, but to encourage each to supply his own frame of reference in response to the questions. They were also instructed to use the prescribed probes for each question after the respondent had given his initial answer. Finally, they were instructed to probe extensively for the reasons behind each of the responses.

From the tapes of the interviews, typewritten transcriptions were obtained. These transcriptions were subsequently checked against the tapes and corrections were made where necessary. Once transcribed and checked, the interview protocols were readied for coding.

The code book for this study is reproduced as Appendix B. Basically, using the code book involved two different operations. First, the responses to certain "objective questions" were coded. An example of an "objective question" would be, "Is America different from other countries?". The response categories for this question were "Unqualified Yes," "Qualified Yes," "It Depends," "Qualified No," "Unqualified No," and "No response." Second, the responses of the youngsters were coded for content. For example, the respondent's answer to the question, "How is America different from other countries?", was coded as to what aspects of the nation the respondent mentioned. If the respondent mentioned more than one thing, each thing was coded as a separate response. Thus, the hypothetical response, "America

has different cars, different trucks, and a different political system," would have been coded as three separate responses: two references to physical objects and one reference to the political system.

In coding for content, fairly detailed "master codes" were used. The Nation-Nationality Master Code, regrouped by response categories more closely related to the analysis, is reproduced as Appendix C to this Report. The Government Master Code is attached as Appendix D. The Authority-Leadership Master Code is attached as Appendix E and the Law Master Code constitutes Appendix F.

Each of the respondents' references to political objects was also coded to indicate whether it was a "positive," "negative," or "neutral" response. In this coding, the following criteria were employed. All responses to questions clearly seeking to elicit a positive response, such as "What is there about America that you like best?" and their subsequent probes were coded as positive comments. All responses to questions clearly seeking to elicit a negative response such as "What is there about America that you don't like?" and their subsequent probes were coded as negative comments. In addition, when, in answering the more general questions, a respondent spontaneously offered a clearly positive or negative comment toward some political object, his response was coded as a positive or negative response. However, in coding these latter responses, a "conservative" policy was adopted: only those responses in which the respondent explicitly used the terms "like," "love," "good," "better," or "best" were coded as positive responses and only those responses in which the respondent used the terms "dislike," "hate," "bad," "worse," or "worst" were coded as negative responses. All other responses were coded as neutral responses.

In light of the judgmental nature of the code, it was deemed advisable to have a thorough check on the reliability of the code and coding procedures. Accordingly, after the coders were selected and trained in the coding procedures to be utilized, they were given five "test protocols" to code. During the coding of these test protocols, no inter-coder communication was permitted.

Table 2 reports the results of an inter-coder agreement test for the five major sections of the interview schedule. The measure of inter-coder agreement used was the ratio of "agreements" to total responses coded ("agreements" plus "disagreements") between each set of two coders.[1] In the calculation of "agreements" and "disagreements," coding categories were collapsed where they were to be used in collapsed form in the analysis that follows. Thus, since no distinction was made between a "qualified yes" and an "unqualified yes" response in the analysis that follows, an agreement was scored even when two coders disagreed on the presence of a "qualification" to the response. Similarly, since the analysis utilizes only the eleven major code headings of the Nation-Nationality Master Code, an agreement was scored when two coders agreed that the response fell under that major code heading, but disagreed on the specific category. Where one of any two coders omitted a response, a "disagreement" was scored.

Table 2. Inter-coder Agreement, by Section of Interview

Section	Median	Range
Nation-Nationality Section	.85	.75-.92
Social Power Section	.84	.78-.95
Government Section	.70	.53-.83
Authority Section	.71	.63-.87
Laws Section	.82	.69-.93

In absence of ample comparative data, it is impossible to state precisely what constitutes an "acceptable" level of inter-coder agreement. In a report on data collected in the Adelson study of the political beliefs of adolescents, Lynette Beall reports a two-coder overall agreement ratio of 85 per cent (for eighty-four items).[2] The results obtained in this study are nearly comparable. Accordingly, these results were judged acceptable and the remainder of the coding was begun.

The results and the analysis of the data are reported in the following chapter.

CHAPTER III. RESULTS

The political world of the second grader is a constricted world, bounded by the limits of the child's knowledge and personal experiences. But by the time the child reaches his eighth year in school and, in some cases, by the time he reaches his fifth year in school, he has acquired most of the factual knowledge necessary for understanding how the political system works. However, the political world of the eighth grader is typically an idealized world. It is not until the high school years that most students acquire a sense of realism which permits them to move beyond a textbook knowledge of our governmental system.

The following sections of this chapter detail, in turn, the orientations of the Buffalo pre-adults toward their nation, toward social power and politics, toward government, toward authority and authority figures, and toward law and laws.

Pre-Adults' Orientations to the Nation

By almost any reckoning, the nation is one of the political objects that is most visible to the American pre-adult. The young child learns to recognize the flag as the symbol of his country. He is taught patriotic songs and he learns to "pledge his allegiance" to the nation. He spends countless hours learning about the geography, history, economy, society, and government of America. The mass media supply endless details on contemporary American events and culture. How much of this material is assimilated by the developing pre-adult? What images does he associate with his nation? How can one explain the pre-adult's images of his nation?

One means of investigating the pre-adult's developing cognitive images of his nation is to compare the themes mentioned by youngsters of different ages as they discuss their nation. Table 3 presents, for each age group of the Buffalo respondents, the proportion of the total references to America that mention selected aspects of the nation. Table 4 -- a companion table -- presents the number of respondents in each age group mentioning these aspects of the nation.

Table 3. Percentage of total references to America mentioning selected aspects of America, by grade in school

Aspects mentioned	Grade in school			
	2nd	5th	8th	11th
Personal life responses	17.4	11.8	8.1	4.7
Physical objects	22.2	12.8	5.3	1.8
Symbolic, historical	10.4	12.1	4.2	1.4
Geographic	9.3	9.3	6.2	5.8
People, population	11.5	9.0	8.2	7.6
Economic, social	5.9	8.0	9.3	10.5
Social problems	7.4	11.8	14.6	14.8
Politics, government	5.2	6.2	11.2	8.3
Public policy	.4	5.5	10.1	10.1
Political values	3.3	8.3	16.0	23.5
Other	7.0	5.2	6.7	11.5
Total per cent[a]	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0
Total number of responses	270	289	356	276

[a]Less or greater than 100 due to roumding.

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Table 4. Number of respondents mentioning certain aspects of America, by grade in school

Aspects mentioned	Grade in school 2nd	5th	8th	11th	Total
Personal life responses	19	19	18	9	65
Physical objects	14	17	12	4	47
Symbolic, historical	13	17	9	3	42
Geographic	17	11	15	12	55
People, population	13	13	12	11	49
Economic, social	9	10	16	15	50
Social problems	7	21	18	18	64
Politics, government	7	8	13	13	41
Public policy	1	10	14	16	41
Political values	3	9	16	21	49
Other	12	12	15	14	53
Number of respondents at each grade level[a]	24	24	24	24	96

[a] The totals of the columns are greater than the number of respondents because of multiple responses.

As Table 3 reveals, the Buffalo pre-adults evidenced pronounced age-related differences in their responses to the questions about their nation. The most dramatic changes center around the youngsters' decreasing tendency to think about their nation in terms of their own personal lives and in terms of physical objects, and their increasing tendency to think about their nation in terms of its political system. For example, while 39.6 per cent of the Buffalo second graders' responses to the questions about America emphasized aspects of their own lives or physical objects, only 24.6 per cent of the fifth graders' responses, 13.4 per cent of the eighth graders' responses and 6.5 per cent of the eleventh graders' responses mentioned these factors. Conversely, while only 8.9 per cent of the second graders' responses refer to the political values of America, the public policies of the government, or anything else (except national symbols or holidays) directly connected with politics or government, 20 per cent of the fifth graders' responses, 37.3 per cent of the eighth graders' responses, and 41.9 per cent of the eleventh graders' responses refer to some aspect of the political system in America.[2]

A similar pattern is evident in Table 4. While nineteen second graders made "personal life" responses in discussing their nation, only nine of the twenty-four eleventh graders discussed America in terms of their personal lives. The number of respondents mentioning the physical environment or physical objects in discussing America declined from fourteen in grade two and seventeen in grades five to twelve in grade eight and only four in grade eleven. At the same time, the number of respondents mentioning political aspects of their nation increased steadily with age. For example, the number of respondents mentioning "democracy," "freedom," or some other aspect of America's political value system increased from three among the second graders to nine among the fifth graders, sixteen among the eighth graders, and twenty-one among the eleventh graders.

This shift from a personalized and concrete conception of the nation to a politicized conception of the nation is dramatically illustrated in the following quotations from the interview protocols. The first four quotations are typical of the second graders' responses, the last three are typical of the eleventh graders' responses:[3]

I: What do you think of when you hear the word America?

R: Going to church.

I: Why does that make you think of America?

R: We sing about America. /Black second grader/

I: What do you think of when you hear the word America?

R: /It's/ a country.

I: What else can you tell me about it?

R: /People/ be riding bikes, people, sometimes little children, get hit. /Black second grader/

I: What do you think of when you hear the word America?

R: It makes me think of . . . the people who live there, the houses, modern schools, and buildings.

I: Anything else?

R: Machines, the trees, books, lots of things. /White second grader/

I: What do you think of when you hear the word America?

R: There's a real lot of animals in America. /White second grader/

I: What do you think of when you hear the word America?

R: The people and the government, other things that make up America.

I: Like what specifically?

R: Like the way they do things here, and the democracy, and just like that. /White eleventh grader/

I: What do you think of when you hear the word America?

R: Freedom, all the states.

I: Could you explain that a little more?

R: Well, freedom of the press, freedom of speech, freedom to choose your own occupation and schooling. /White eleventh grader/

I: What do you think of when you hear the word America?

R: America, uh, I think of all the, all the brave, you know, young men over there in Vietnam, fighting, just like you know, and dying.

I: What else does it mean to you?

R: Freedom, it seems like you have more freedom up here than you do over there, because it seems like the government over there controls you and over here it doesn't. /Black eleventh grader/

The Buffalo youth evidenced similar age-related differences in the comparisons they made between their nation and other nations.[4] For example, among second graders, 42.9 per cent of the differences and 65.2 per cent of the similarities between America and other countries mentioned by the respondents referred to the physical environment or physical objects, while only 3.9 per cent of the differences and 2.2 per cent of the similarities mentioned

referred to political aspects. In contrast, among eleventh graders only 1.5 per cent of the differences and 7.9 per cent of the similarities mentioned referred to physical objects or the physical environment, while 51.6 per cent of the differences and 27.1 per cent of the similarities mentioned referred to political aspects of the nations.

In addition to the three major changes in the Buffalo students' cognitive images of their nation noted above, one other pronounced age-related difference was evident. As Table 3 reveals, the proportion of responses to the general questions about America that mention national symbols or the national heritage declines from more than 10 per cent each for the second and fifth graders to 1.4 per cent for the eleventh graders; and, as Table 4 reveals, the number of respondents mentioning national symbols or the history of the nationdeclines from a high of seventeen among fifth graders to a low of three among eleventh graders. This shift away from an America conceptualized in symbolic, historical terms, then, parallels the shift away from an America conceptualized in personal, concrete terms.

The other age-related differences revealed in Tables 3 and 4 are minor ones. In response to the general questions about America, the younger respondents made proportionally more "geographical" responses and proportionally more references to "people" than did the older respondents. They also made proportionally fewer references than the older respondents to economic and social institutions and processes and proportionally fewer references to social problems in America. However, none of these differences appear to be as pronounced as those related to the youth's increasing politicization and decreasing personalization and concretization of their conceptualizations of their nation.

Do black and white pre-adults differ in their cognitive images of the nation? The data here suggest that there are a few differences, but that these differences are generally minor.

Table 5. Percentage of total references to America mentioning selected aspects of America, by race of the respondent

Aspects mentioned	Race of the respondent	
	White	Black
Personal life responses	8.8	12.9
Physical objects	10.9	9.5
Symbolic, historical	7.9	6.0
Geographic	7.7	7.4
People, population	8.2	8.5
Economic, social	8.8	8.2
Social problems	10.9	13.7
Politics, government	8.1	7.9
Public policy	5.6	7.9
Political values	16.5	9.8
Other	6.8	8.1
Total per cent[a]	100.2	99.9
Total number of responses	571	620

[a]Less or greater than 100 due to rounding.

Table 5 compares the black and white Buffalo respondents according to the themes they mentioned in discussing their nation. In comparison to the whites, the blacks were slightly more likely to mention their own personal lives, slightly more likely to mention social problems in America, slightly more likely to mention public policy, slightly less likely to mention physical objects or the physical environment, slightly less likely to

mention national symbols or national history, and considerably less likely to mention political values. The black-white differences revealed in Table 5, however, are generally small in comparison with the more pronounced age-related differences revealed in Tables 3 and 4.

Moreover, when a control for age is imposed on the data in Table 5, the similarities between the black and white youth are even more evident. The younger respondents, both blacks and whites, discussed America mainly in terms of their personal lives there, in terms of physical objects or the physical environment, or in terms of national symbols or historical persons and events. The older respondents, both blacks and whites, spoke more frequently about social, economic, and political institutions, processes, and values. Imposing a control for age on the data in Table 5 does, however, reveal two interesting facts. Among the Buffalo respondents, it was the elementary and junior high school whites and not the eleventh grade whites who were more likely than their black counterparts to discuss their nation in terms of its political value system (see Table 6). At the same time, it was the younger blacks (second, fifth, and eighth graders, but not eleventh graders) who were more likely than their white counterparts to mention social problems in discussing America (see Table 7).

Table 6. Percentage of total references to America mentioning political values, by grade in school and race of the respondent

Grade in school	Race of respondent	
	White	Black
2nd	5.0	1.5
5th	14.1	2.7
8th	23.7	11.3
11th	22.6	24.8

Table 7. Percentage of total references to America mentioning social problems, by grade in school and race of the respondent

Grade in school	Race of respondent	
	White	Black
2nd	5.8	9.2
5th	7.7	15.6
8th	11.9	16.3
11th	17.4	11.6

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These data would suggest one important difference between the black and white child's developing cognitive images of their nation. The white child develops an "idealized" conceptualization of his nation quite early in life. In contrast, the black child does not come to associate his nation with its political value system until later in life, perhaps not until he leaves elementary school. Instead of "idealizing" the nation, the young black develops a more "realistic" conception of his nation, one which stresses social problems more than political principles. The white child also shows an awareness of these social problems, but his awareness is generally lower and it comes later in life. These factors may have important implications for the two youngsters' affective images of the nation. Because the black youngster's cognitive picture of his nation includes more implicitly negative content than the more idealized cognitive picture of the white youngster, the black child may grow up with a less positive attachment for his nation than the white youngster does.

In this study, three methods of tapping the pre-adult's affective orientations toward the nation were utilized. In the first of these methods, the Buffalo respondents were asked directly if they were "proud that they were Americans." Their responses revealed an almost universal pride in their nation and nationality. As the following excerpts from the interview protocols illustrate, that pride is deeply, often intensely, felt:

I: Would you say that you're proud that you're an American?
R: Sure am!
I: Why do you say that?
R: Well, because I'd stand up for my country. I'm proud that I'm an American and that I'm here and I could be an American. America is like worshipped all over the world. There is a lot of people who want to come over here if they had the chance, like in East Berlin, they'd give anything to be free. It's a free country, that's why I'm proud. We have our own ways, keep it free.
/White eighth grader/

I: Would you say that you are proud that you're an American?
R: Yes.
I: Why?
R: Because it's the biggest nation, it's a world power, it has a big military, and you have all this freedom to do the things you like.
I: Anything else?
R: It's a world leader, it protects small countries that don't have an army. . . It has more people, more money, more big industries.
/White eleventh grader/

In all, only five respondents, all eleventh graders (three whites and two blacks) responded negatively when they were asked if they were proud they were American.

A second method of tapping the affective orientations of the Buffalo pre-adults involved asking whether the youth thought that a Canadian or a German boy or girl their age would want to come to America and become an American, and asking whether the respondents themselves would be just as

happy if they lived in some other country.

In answering these questions, the Buffalo respondents were far from unanimous in their opinions. But, in general, they believed that the foreign youth would want to come to America, and, in general, they believed that they themselves would not be happy in another country. Forty-eight of the respondents believed that a foreign youth would wish to become an American as compared with thirty who believed that he would not. In contrast, only twenty-seven youth thought they could be just as happy in another country while fifty youth believed they would not be as happy.

These data support the general impression that the level of patriotism or affect for the nation is quite high throughout the age span of the Buffalo sample. Interestingly, it is the older youth--the fourteen and seventeen year olds--who are most likely to believe that a foreign youth would want to become an American and who are least likely to believe they could be happy outside their homeland.

When the responses of the blacks and whites to these questions are compared, an interesting pattern emerges. As Table 8 reveals, the blacks in the Buffalo sample were more likely than the whites to believe that a foreign youth would want to come to America. In all, thirty-two blacks (61.5% of the black sample) felt that a foreign youth would want to come while only fourteen blacks (26.9% of the black sample) felt that he would not. Among the whites, only sixteen respondents (36.4% of the white sample) felt that a foreign youth would want to come while an equal number felt that a foreign youth would want to come while an equal number felt that he would he would not. Moreover, this indication of greater black attachment to the nation is a "consistent" one: at each grade level proportionally more blacks than whites believed that a foreign youth would want to come to America and become an American.

Table 8. Number of respondents who thought that a foreign youth would wish to come to America, by grade in school and race of the respondent

Grade in school and race of respondent[a]	Would youth want to come?[b]			
	Yes	No	It depends	No answer; don't know
Black 2nd graders	7	4	0	2
White 2nd graders	4	3	2	2
Black 5th graders	6	5	2	0
White 5th graders	4	7	0	0
Black 8th graders	11	2	0	0
White 8th graders	4	3	4	0
Black 11th graders	8	3	1	1
White 11th graders	4	3	3	1
Subtotals				
Blacks	32	14	3	3
Whites	16	16	9	3
Totals	48	30	12	6

a. The total number of blacks at each grade level is 13; the total number of whites at each grade level is 11.

b. The exact question wording was: "Suppose I asked a Canadian or a German boy or girl your age if he would like to come to America with his family and live here and become an American. Do you think he would want to come or not?"

A similar, but much less pronounced, indication of higher positive affect for the nation among blacks is evident in the data presented in Table 9. When asked if they would be just as happy if they lived in another country, blacks were more likely than whites to respond in the negative. All told, twenty-nine blacks (55.8% of the black sample) said "no," while twenty-one whites (47.7% of the white sample) responded negatively. Fourteen blacks

(26.9% of the black sample) and thirteen whites (29.6% of the white sample) responded affirmatively. The blacks' greater reluctance to leave their homeland is small, however, and not consistent across the grade levels. In fact, the greater reluctance to leave America evidenced by blacks is almost totally due to the high proportion of black eleventh graders who felt that they could not be happy elsewhere.

Table 9. Number of respondents who thought that they could be happy living in another country, by grade in school and race of the respondent.

Grade in school and race of respondent[a]	Would respondent be happy?[b]			
	Yes	No	It depends	No answer; don't know
Black 2nd graders	6	5	1	1
White 2nd graders	4	4	2	1
Black 5th graders	2	7	1	3
White 5th graders	4	6	0	1
Black 8th graders	4	7	1	1
White 8th graders	2	7	2	0
Black 11th graders	2	10	1	0
White 11th graders	3	4	3	1
Subtotals				
Blacks	14	29	4	5
Whites	13	21	7	3
Totals	27	50	11	8

a. The total number of blacks at each grade level is 13; the total number of whites at each grade level is 11.

b. The exact question wording was: "Do you think that you would be just as happy if you and your family lived in some other country?"

A third method of investigating the Buffalo pre-adults' affective orientations to the nation involved coding their responses to all of the questions about America as "positive," "negative," or "neutral" responses. Because of the interviewing and coding procedures used, the "percentage of positive responses" and the "percentage of negative responses" cannot be said to provide absolute measures of the magnitude of the positive and negative dimensions of the Buffalo youth's attachment to the nation. However, it is possible, by using these measures, to make some comparisons of the relative strength of the positive and negative dimensions of the respondents' orientations.

As Table 10 reveals, the Buffalo respondents, with the exception of the eleventh graders, were much more willing to discuss the positive than the negative aspects of their nation, and this can be taken as an indication of their attachment to the nation. However, this attachment is not wholly uncritical: at each level, the Buffalo respondents were also willing to discuss what they did not like about their nation.

Table 10. Percentage of total references to America coded as positive, negative, and neutral, by grade in school[a]

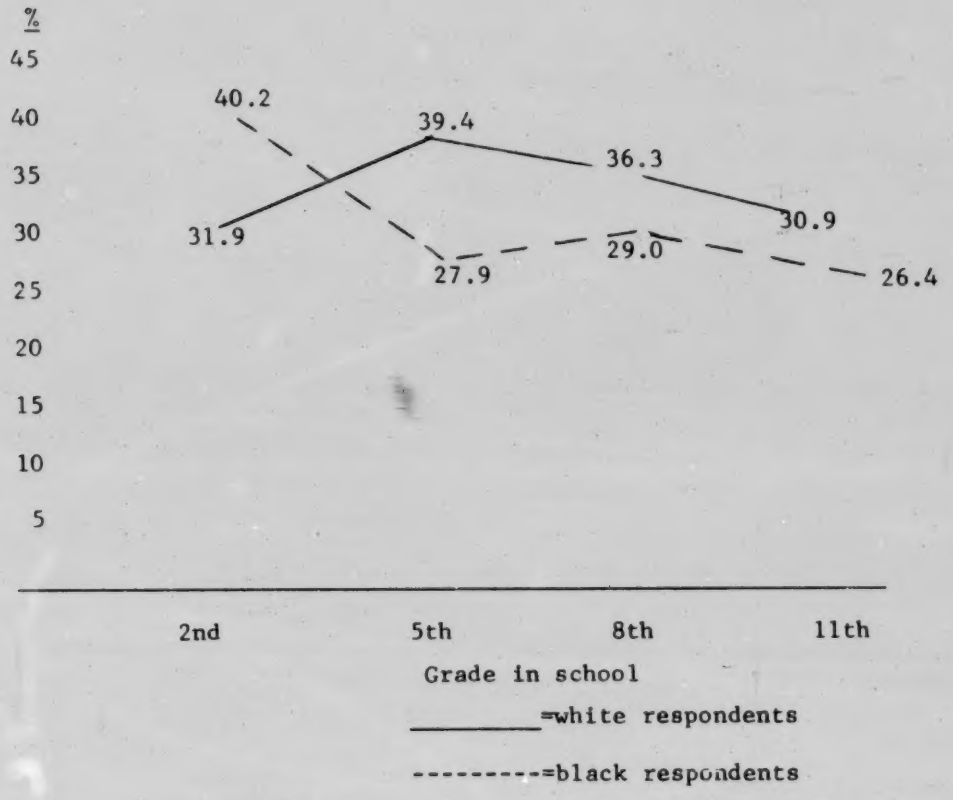
Coded as:	Grade in school 2nd	5th	8th	11th
Positive	35.9	33.6	31.7	29.0
Negative	18.9	24.6	18.3	29.7
Neutral	45.2	41.8	50.0	41.3
Total per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total responses	270	289	356	276

a. Includes all responses to the questions about America and all spontaneously offered comments about America

Moreover, there is some indication that, as the youngster matures, the content of his beliefs about his nation becomes progressively less positive. The ratio of positive statements about America to total statements about America made by the Buffalo respondents is lower at each successive grade level and the ratio of negative responses to total responses generally increases with age, although the eighth graders made proportionally fewer negative responses than either the fifth or second graders. However, this age-related decline in affect is not pronounced. The difference between second graders and eleventh graders in the ratio of positive comments to total comments is only 6.9 per cent and the difference between second graders and eleventh graders in the ratio of negative comments to total comments is only 10.8 per cent. Rather than indicating a pervasive disaffection with America on the part of the older Buffalo youth, the figures in Table 10 (and the fact that five of twenty-four eleventh graders reported that they were not proud they were Americans) merely reflect the older students' greater awareness of and greater disenchantment with certain aspects of their nation.

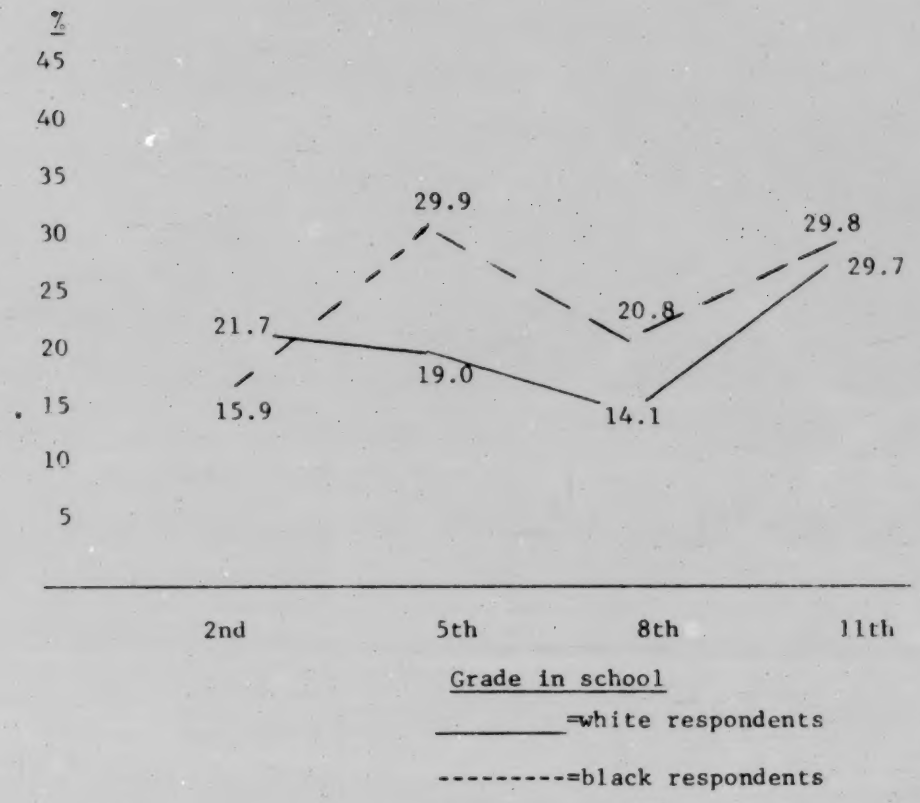
A comparison of the proportions of the black and white Buffalo respondents' total comments about the nation that were coded as positive comments and a comparison of the proportions of each group's total comments that were coded as negative comments, reveal some apparent black-white differences in relative affect for the nation.

As Graph 1 reveals, the proportion of positive comments about America to total comments about America made by the Buffalo respondents was lower for blacks than for whites among all but the second graders. The difference is greatest among the fifth graders where the gap between blacks and whites is 11.5 per cent (whites--39.4% positive comments, blacks--27.9%) and next greatest among the eighth graders where the gap is 7.3 per cent (whites---36.3%, blacks---29.0%). Among the eleventh graders, the difference between whites and blacks is 4.5 per cent (whites--30.9%, blacks---26.4%) and, among the second graders, blacks made proportionally more positive comments than whites by a margin of 40.2 per cent to 31.9 per cent.



Graph 1. Proportion of positive comments to total comments, by grade in school and race of the respondent (includes all responses to the questions about America and all spontaneously offered comments about America).

At the same time, as Graph 2 reveals, the proportion of negative comments about America to total comments about America was higher for blacks than for whites among all but the second graders. Once again, the gap is greatest among the fifth graders (where the difference is 10.9%) and next greatest among the eighth graders (where the difference is 6.7%). Among the eleventh graders, the difference between blacks and whites in proportion of negative comments is negligible and, among the second graders, the pattern is once again reversed with the whites more critical than the blacks.



Graph 2. Proportion of negative comments to total comments, by grade in school and race of the respondent (includes all responses to the questions about America and all spontaneously offered comments about America).

When Graphs 1 and 2 are compared, one other point becomes evident. Among the black fifth graders and eleventh graders, explicitly negative comments about the nation actually exceeded explicitly positive comments, and, among the eighth graders, the excess of positive over negative comments is relatively small (8.2%). In contrast, among the white respondents, explicitly positive comments always exceeded explicitly negative comments and, among all but the eleventh graders, the excess of positive over negative comments is relatively large (among fifth and eighth graders, it is over 20%).

However, for a number of reasons, the less positive attachment of black students for their nation that is revealed in Graphs 1 and 2 should not be overemphasized. First, differences between black and white fifth graders and between black and white eighth graders, while noticeable, are not outstanding, especially given the imprecision of "proportion of positive comments to total comments" and "proportion of negative comments to total comments" as indicators of attachment. Second, the proportion of positive comments to total comments remains relatively high--over 26 per cent--even among the more critical group of older black respondents. Finally, the attachment of the black Buffalo youth for their nation, as measured by their pride in their Americanism, their unwillingness to leave their nation, and their belief that a foreign youth would want to come to America and live, is at least as great as the attachment of the white Buffalo youth.

Pre-Adults' Orientations to Social Power

The concept of social power is a difficult concept to understand. Few adults can be said to possess a very sophisticated conception of social power. Yet most people have some notion of what power is, where it comes from, how widely it is distributed through society, and how it can be used most effectively. These beliefs about power are at the core of their political belief systems. They affect their orientations to government, laws, and political authorities. In this study, an effort was made to chart the pre-adult's developing orientations to social power.

Predictably, the youngest respondents in the Buffalo sample had only a rudimentary conception of social power. In fact, as Table 11 reveals, only the eighth and eleventh graders were completely at ease discussing social power.

Table 11. Number of respondents with some understanding of social power, by grade in school.

Understanding of power	GRADE IN SCHOOL 2	5	8	11	Total
No conception of social power	14	6	0	0	20
Some conception of social power after extensive probing	8	5	1	0	14
Facility with concept of social power	2	13	23	24	62

The younger respondents with some conception of social power were as likely to think of power as a mechanism to force people to obey or conform

as they were to conceptualize power as influence. The large majority of the older respondents conceptualized social power as influence or a mechanism for persuasion.

When the Buffalo youth were asked "where powerful people get their power," their responses revealed some interesting insights into the pre-adult's developing conceptions of the sources of power. The number of respondents answering in terms of the civics textbook notions that power comes from the people or that power is earned through hard work or competence increases from 6 among the second graders to 12 among the fifth graders and 19 among the eighth graders. The number of eleventh graders answering in these terms, however, drops down to 12. The eleventh graders, on the other hand, were more likely than the younger respondents to believe that power automatically came to those in high positions--economic, social, and political. Ten eleventh graders answered the question about the source of power in these terms while only 1 second grader, 4 fifth graders, and 5 eighth graders made this type of response.

The elementary and junior high student seems to have a very idealized conception of power and the source of power: any person can obtain power if he will but work hard to achieve it and the people who have power worked for their power and deserve to retain it. The high school student, however, is sometimes skeptical of these tenets. He has the more realistic, and cynical, view that some people with power and authority have done little or nothing to earn their power. Witness, for example, the following remarks of two of the Buffalo eleventh graders:

I: Where do powerful people get their power?
R: They get it from who they are. President Nixon gets it because he's the head of the country.
I: Where does this power come from? Did President Nixon always have it or did he earn it.
R: He didn't earn anything.
I: Well, how did he get into a powerful position?
R: Bought his way. /White eleventh grader/

I: Can you give me some examples of powerful people?
R: Rockefeller.
I: What makes Rockefeller powerful?
R: His money.
I: Where do powerful people get their power? Are they born with it or do they earn it?
R: Mostly, they're born with it, I'd say.
I: You don't think they have to earn it?
R: Like, now, if Nixon's wife were to have a baby, that son or daughter would have power, you know. Probably go into politics, and probably wouldn't even have to earn it, you know. /Black eleventh grader/

This cynicism, although evidenced by only a minority of the eleventh graders, is remarkable in comparison with the idealism of the fifth and eighth graders. When asked directly if powerful people have to earn their power, all but one of the fifth or eighth graders with any conception of

social power answered in the affirmative.

At all grade levels, the Buffalo respondents appeared relatively content with the distribution of power in society.

When asked who had the most power, a wide majority of respondents at each grade level mentioned political leaders, especially elected political leaders. Several of the older respondents also mentioned "rich people" as a group with a great deal of power, but for the most part, even the older respondents perceived power as primarily residing in legitimate hands. One-fourth of the respondents (24 of 96) believed that the people who held power had "too much power" and that "something" (nearly always unspecified) "should be done about this," but in only one or two cases did the respondents seem to be expressing something other than the vague belief that in the best possible world power would be distributed more equitably.

Further evidence that the American pre-adult appears relatively content with the distribution of power in American society and the way it is being exercised is contained in the Buffalo students' reactions to an imaginary situation in which the local government "wanted to build a road through their neighborhood." As Table 12 reveals, at each successive grade level sampled, a larger proportion of students expect that the people in charge of building the road would "listen to" them. This does not mean that the students expect to be successful in keeping the local government from building the road. In fact, at each successive grade level, there was a smaller minority which expected to dissuade the government from building the road. It does mean that, over time, the pre-adult acquires the belief that he will get a fair, although not necessarily productive, hearing from the government.

Table 12. Number of respondents who expect local government to "listen to" their objections to building a road in their neighborhood, by grade in school.

Governmental Response	GRADE IN SCHOOL				
	2	5	8	11	Total
Government will listen	9	13	11	13	46
Government will not listen	9	7	5	1	22
It depends, no response	6	4	8	10	28

There were few areas in which the black and white Buffalo respondents differed in their beliefs about power in society. By a margin of 17 to 7, black respondents were more likely than white respondents to believe that "some groups have too much power" in America and by a margin of 14 to 6, blacks were more likely than whites to believe that people in power use their power unfairly. Although this may indicate a somewhat lesser degree of satisfaction on the part of blacks with the distribution and exercise

of power within the American political system, the overwhelming evidence is that the pattern of developing orientations toward social power is essentially similar for black and white pre-adults.

Pre-Adults' Orientations to Authorities

From the point of view of the political system, one of the most important set of orientations that young system members develop is their set of orientations to authority and authority figures.

The concept of authority and authority relationships is a difficult one for young pre-adults to grasp. The Buffalo pre-adults in this study were asked directly what the term authority meant to them. Only one second grader and seven fifth graders had an accurate conception of authority. The older respondents did considerably better on this item: twenty eighth graders and all twenty-four eleventh graders had a reasonably accurate conception of authority. The Buffalo respondents were also asked who came to mind when they thought of the leaders of our country. Their responses reveal that the President is far and away the most important focal point in the pre-adult's thinking about authority figures. All told, eighty-six of the ninety-six respondents mentioned the President in discussing the leaders of our country. When asked directly for the name of the President, only one respondent-- a fifth grader -- made an incorrect response.

The Buffalo pre-adults interviewed for this study have essentially positive views about political authorities. When they were asked about the qualities of leaders and the kind of people who became leaders, their responses nearly all emphasized positive characteristics. The characteristics of leaders most often mentioned are summarized in Table 13.

Table 13. Number of responses mentioning selected characteristics of leaders, by grade in school.

Characteristic	GRADE IN SCHOOL 2	5	8	11
Knowledgeable	9	25	22	21
Competent	0	4	11	14
Hard Working	1	5	7	5
Powerful	3	6	1	3
Benign	12	9	9	3
Ethical	0	1	2	8
Miscellaneous	13	14	18	26
Total [a]	38	64	65	80

[a] Greater than 24 at each grade level because of multiple responses.

As Table 13 reveals, there are some clear-cut age differences among the Buffalo respondents in their conceptions of authorities. At all grade

levels except for grades two, the most common characteristic of leaders mentioned by the Buffalo respondents was the knowledge of leaders. The older respondents, an increasing number at each successive grade level, also mentioned competence as a characteristic of the kind of people who became leaders. The most common characteristic of leaders mentioned by the Buffalo second graders was the benevolence of leaders ("Leaders are nice," "Good people become leaders"). This type of response declined with age. Rather than benevolence, the eleventh graders were more likely to discuss leaders in terms of their ethical belief systems.

What is clear from Table 13 is that the two most salient images of political leaders possessed by pre-adults center around the knowledge and benevolence of leaders. Pre-adults believe that political authorities are knowledgeable and competent in their jobs. They also believe that political authorities, and especially the President, are kind, good, or ethical people. Correspondingly, they believe that the President cares about ordinary people like them. In response to a direct question asking them if they thought the President cared about ordinary people, only twelve respondents (one-eighth of the sample) responded in the negative.

It is interesting that the Buffalo respondents did not seem overly taken with the power of leaders. As Table 13 reveals, only thirteen respondents spontaneously mentioned power as a characteristic of leaders. In addition, only five respondents--all second graders--reported that they believed there were no limits on the power of leaders. Similarly, only five respondents--three second graders, one fifth grader, and one eighth grader--believed that leaders do not have to obey laws. Only four respondents answered negatively when asked if the President would be breaking the law if he were to speed in an automobile and only three respondents did not think it would be wrong of the President to speed. At all grade levels except the eleventh, a majority of the respondents believed that the President would be ticketed for speeding. The eleventh graders, noticeably more realistic and cynical than their younger counterparts, believed by a nearly three to one margin--that the President would not receive a ticket for speeding.

As noted in the previous section of this report, the maturing pre-adult increasingly comes to expect a fair hearing from political leaders. This orientation was confirmed when the Buffalo respondents were asked if they believed that the President would listen, in turn, to a group of Congressmen, a group of businessmen, a group of ordinary people, and a group of foreign leaders who wanted to see him to express their views on a piece of legislation. Table 14 summarizes their responses.

Table 14. Number of respondents who believe that the President would listen to various groups, by grade in school.

President would listen to a group of:	GRADE IN SCHOOL				
	2	5	8	11	Total
Congressmen	8	15	20	20	63
Businessmen	4	13	14	19	50
Ordinary people	7	8	13	19	47
Foreign leaders	6	9	16	16	47

As Table 14 indicates, the number of respondents who believe that the President would listen to each of the various groups increases steadily with age. Among the second graders, a majority of respondents appeared to believe that the President would not even be interested in listening to the case being presented by the Congressmen, businessmen, ordinary people, or foreign leaders. However, among the eleventh graders, only a few respondents believed that the President would not at least listen to the case presented by each of the groups.

This is not to say that the Buffalo respondents expect the President to acquiesce to the point of view of the various groups of petitioners. In fact, more respondents thought the President unlikely than likely to acquiesce to the requests of each of the various groups. (See Table 15.) The age trends revealed in the data in Table 15 are interesting. For each group of petitioners, the percentage of respondents who believe that the President would do what the group wanted increases with ages up to grade eight and then declines for the eleventh graders.

Table 15. Responsiveness of the President to the wishes of Congressmen, businessmen, ordinary people, and foreign leaders, by grade in school.

Group	GRADE IN SCHOOL 2	5	8	11	Total
Would the President do what Congressmen wanted?					
Yes	5	5	9	6	25
No	13	7	4	7	31
It depends	2	9	9	9	29
No response	4	3	2	2	11
Would the President do what Businessmen wanted?					
Yes	2	7	7	3	19
No	17	8	9	10	44
It depends	3	7	7	8	25
No response	2	2	1	3	8
Would the President do what Ordinary People wanted?					
Yes	7	3	8	5	23
No	14	13	11	9	47
It depends	0	4	3	6	13
No response	3	4	2	4	13
Would the President do what Foreign Leaders wanted?					
Yes	4	5	7	4	20
No	14	11	8	6	39
It depends	1	3	5	11	20
No response	5	5	4	3	17

For the second graders, the situation faced by the President when he is confronted by a group of people who disagree with his position on a certain piece of legislation is a simple one. The President ignores the people, either by refusing to listen to them or by listening to them and then proceeding as he had originally intended. For the fifth and eighth graders, the situation is more complex. The President must listen to the people petitioning him and he is also under more compulsion to acquiesce to their requests, especially in the eyes of the eighth graders. The eleventh graders definitely believe that the President is obligated to give each group a fair hearing. More than any other age grouping, they take the relativistic--and realistic--position that it cannot be decided in the abstract whether the President will go along with the requests of the various groups.

There are some relatively clear-cut differences between the black and white respondents in the Buffalo sample in terms of their beliefs about the willingness of the President to listen to various groups and acquiesce to their requests. For each of the groups--Congressmen, businessmen, ordinary people, and foreign leaders--a greater percentage of blacks than whites believe that the President would not listen to the arguments of the group. However, for each of the groups, a much higher percentage of blacks than whites believe that the President would do what the group wanted him to do. Correspondingly, the blacks in the Buffalo sample were far less likely to answer the questions in relativistic terms.

Table 16. Percentage of respondents who believe that the President would not listen to various groups, by race of the respondents.

President would not listen to a group of:	RACE	
	White	Black
Congressmen	9.1%	15.3%
Businessmen	22.8	36.5
Ordinary People	27.2	36.5
Foreign Leaders	18.2	32.7

Table 17. Responsiveness of the President to the wishes of Congressmen, businessmen, ordinary people, and foreign leaders, by race of the respondent.

Group	RACE	
	White	Black
Would the President do what Congressmen wanted?		
Yes	8	17
No	13	18
It depends	20	9
No response	3	8
Would the President do what Businessmen wanted?		
Yes	4	15
No	20	23
It depends	17	8
No response	3	6
Would the President do what Ordinary People wanted?		
Yes	6	17
No	23	24
It depends	9	4
No response	6	7
Would the President do what Foreign Leaders wanted?		
Yes	7	13
No	14	25
It depends	16	4
No response	7	10

The reasons why the black Buffalo respondents were more likely than their white counterparts to believe that the President would not want to listen to people while, at the same time, they were more likely than their white counterparts to believe that the President would do what these people wanted are not clear from the data analyzed for this research report. This question, which has practical as well as theoretical importance deserves further investigation.

In an effort to measure the positive-negative dimension of pre-adults' orientations to authority figures, the Buffalo students were asked a series of four questions designed to elicit job ratings for "most Presidents," President Nixon, former President Johnson, and the late President Kennedy. Table 18 presents the percentage of respondents at each grade level assigning negative rankings on each of the items.

Table 18. Percentage of respondents assigning negative job performance ratings to most Presidents, President Nixon, President Johnson, and President Kennedy, by grade in school.

Fercentage Negative Rankings assigned to:	GRADE IN SCHOOL 2	5	8	11	Total
Most Presidents	4.2%	8.4%	8.4%	12.5%	8.4%
President Nixon	8.4	25.0	20.8	20.8	18.8
President Johnson	0.0	8.4	16.7	25.0	12.5
President Kennedy	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.2	1.0

As Table 18 reveals, the rankings of the Buffalo respondents were overwhelmingly positive. Only eight percent of the respondents rated most Presidents as doing a bad job, only eighteen percent rated President Nixon unfavorably, only twelve percent rated President Johnson unfavorably, and only one percent assigned a negative job performance rating to President Kennedy. The fact that the rankings vary for President Johnson, Nixon, and Kennedy indicate that the respondents were able to differentiate among occupants of the authority role and that they were not merely reacting positively to the Presidency itself.

Table 19 presents the data on Presidential job rankings by race of the respondent.

Table 19. Percentage of respondents assigning negative job performance ratings to Most Presidents, President Nixon, President Johnson, and President Kennedy, by race of the respondent.

Percentage Negative Rankings assigned to:	RACE White	Black
Most Presidents	0.0%	15.4%
President Nixon	6.8	28.8
President Johnson	2.3	21.1
President Kennedy	2.3	0.0

Clearly, the black Buffalo pre-adults were more critical than their white counterparts. While no white respondents thought that most Presidents do a bad job, fifteen percent of the black respondents share this belief.

Fully twenty-eight percent of the black respondents assigned a negative job performance rating to President Nixon and twenty-one percent assigned a negative rating to President Johnson. The comparable figures for white respondents are six percent and two percent. This differential level of support for specific occupants of the Presidency and the generally more negative view of blacks about the job performance of most Presidents has obvious implications for political leaders and for the political system.

Pre-Adults' Orientations to Law and Laws

Just as pre-adults must be inducted into society's system of community and society's authority system, so too must they be inducted into society's compliance system if the whole of the political system is to persist. The results from this study reveal that pre-adults by and large have a good understanding of the purpose of laws and the role laws play in society.

The evidence here suggests that pre-adults early on view rules and laws as mainly restrictive in nature. Laws exist to compel obedience, to prevent violence, to punish people, and to restrict, prohibit, or prevent certain activities. Over time, this conceptualization is replaced by one in which the individual views laws in an instrumental fashion. They exist to provide guidance for individuals, to organize society, to regulate conflict, and to provide a mechanism for attaining some social purpose.

There is ample evidence to support the above interpretation in the data collected in this research report. When the Buffalo respondents were asked the meaning of rules, eleven of the responses of the second graders stressed the restrictive function of rules, but only four of the responses of fifth graders, and one response each from eighth and eleventh graders stressed this aspect of the function of rules. In contrast, the number of responses emphasizing the guidance function of rules increased from two among the second graders and three among the fifth graders to five among the eighth graders and ten among the eleventh graders. Similarly, when asked why we have rules, the second graders made only one response that mentioned the organizational function of rules. Four of the fifth graders' responses, six of the eighth graders' responses, and seventeen of the eleventh graders' responses mentioned this function of rules.

This same emphasis is shown in the the answers given by the Buffalo respondents to a question asking them why they thought it was necessary to obey laws. Among the responses of the second graders, fifteen emphasized that obedience is necessary to avoid getting into trouble, to avoid punishment, or to avoid getting hurt. Seventeen of the responses of the fifth graders also emphasized these reasons for obedience. However, this type of response occurred only seven times among the eighth graders and four times among the eleventh graders. The older respondents were more likely to believe that obedience to laws was necessary in order to prevent chaos in society and because laws are designed to help and protect people. The number of responses emphasizing these reasons for obedience increases from one for the second graders to six for the fifth graders, seven for the eighth graders, and thirteen for the eleventh graders.

The tendency of younger pre-adults to view law and obedience in personal, punishment terms in contrast to the older pre-adults' tendency to emphasize the social cohesion functions of law and obedience is also illustrated in the Buffalo respondents' answers when they were asked "What would happen if nobody obeyed the laws?" Twelve second graders responded that all of the people would be punished and only one mentioned the social consequences of widespread disobedience. Only four of the older respondents--two fifth graders and two eighth graders responded in terms of punishment of the offenders. Eleven fifth graders, thirteen eighth graders, and sixteen eleventh graders mentioned the social consequences of widespread disobedience.

The Buffalo respondents were also asked if laws applied to everyone or if there was anyone who was exempt from obedience to laws. Their responses are reported in Table 20.

Table 20. Number of respondents who believe that some people are exempt from obedience to laws, by grade in school.

Is anyone exempt from obedience to laws?	GRADE IN SCHOOL 2	5	8	11	Total
Yes	9	5	2	1	17
No	10	15	20	21	66
It depends	0	1	0	0	1
No response	5	3	2	2	12

The young pre-adult is as likely to believe that there are people who are exempt from obedience to laws as he is to believe that laws have universal applicability. A follow-up question revealed that with three exceptions, all of the second graders and fifth graders who believed that some people were exempt from obedience had political leaders in mind. By the time the student reaches eighth grade, he has disembued himself of this notion and views laws as universally applicable to all citizens even the lawmakers themselves.

By the time they reach fifth grade, most pre-adults have a reasonably accurate perception of the source of laws. Sixteen of the responses of the Buffalo fifth, eighth, and eleventh graders mentioned Congress as a source of laws. In contrast, only three of the responses of the second graders mentioned Congress. Ten resporses of the second graders mentioned policemen or judges as the source of laws. Only one other respondent--a fifth grader--made this type response. Some of the older respondents--four eighth graders and five eleventh graders expressed the belief that laws come from "the people." Apparently, the threshold point beyond which the pre-adult acquires an understanding of the institutional basis of law occurs sometime between grades two and five. It is not until after grade five, however, that the pre-adult comes to understand the consensual basis for law and laws.

In the minds of many young pre-adults, laws are immutable. (See

Table 21.) Nine of the Buffalo second graders and five of the fifth graders believed that laws could not be changed. The older respondents were nearly unanimous in recognizing that changes in laws can and do occur.

Table 21. Number of respondents who believe that laws can be changed, by grade in school.

Can laws be changed?	GRADE IN SCHOOL 2	5	8	11
Yes	14	18	23	23
No	9	5	0	1
No response	1	1	1	0

The younger respondents (second and fifth graders) who believed that laws could be changed were apt to believe the reason for change would be dislike of the laws on the part of leaders. The older respondents (eighth and eleventh graders) most frequently cited as reasons for changing laws the "badness" of laws, dislike of the laws on the part of citizens, or changing circumstances. Similarly, while the younger respondents believed that laws were changed by political leaders or, in a few cases, by God or the police, the older respondents most frequently mentioned Congress or "the people" as the mechanism for change.

There were no major differences in the black and white pre-adults' cognitive orientations to law and laws. Apparently, the socialization process in this area is so intense as to convince all youth of the necessity for compliance to law. This does not mean that black and white pre-adults evaluate law and laws similarly. It means only that their understanding of law and beliefs about the role of law in society are similar.

The data analyzed in this study reveal clear-cut age and race differences in affective orientations to law and laws. The Buffalo respondents were asked if they thought "all laws were good laws." They were also asked if they thought "all laws were fair laws." The percentage of respondents at each grade level who answered these questions in the affirmative is revealed in Table 22.

Table 22. Percentage of respondents who believe that "all laws are good" and percentage who believe that "all laws are fair," by grade in school.

Percentage Agreeing that:	GRADE IN SCHOOL 2	5	8	11	Total
All laws are good	91.7%	58.3%	66.7%	37.5%	63.6%
All laws are fair	79.2	58.3	62.2	62.2	65.6

As Table 22 shows, second graders overwhelmingly believe that all laws are good and that all laws are fair. Fifth and eighth graders are less sure about the goodness and fairness of all laws. A majority of eleventh graders still believe in the fairness of laws, but by their late teens, a majority of youth have rejected the belief that all laws are good laws.

Differences between black and white youth on these items are pronounced. (See Table 23.)

Table 23. Percentage of respondents who believe that "all laws are good" and percentage of respondents who believe that "all laws are fair," by race of the respondent.

Percentage Agreeing that:	RACE White	Black
All laws are good	75.0%	53.8%
All laws are fair	76.3	55.7

Over twenty percent more whites than blacks agree with the statement that all laws are good laws and over twenty percent more whites than blacks agree with the statement that all laws are fair laws.

The more negative orientation of older youth and black youth toward law and laws is not surprising. Teenagers, especially black teenagers, are more likely to have first hand contact with the punitive aspect of laws and law enforcement officials. The question that becomes important from the point of view of the persistence of the political system involves the lasting nature of this negative orientation. That question is beyond the scope of this research report. It seems clear, however, that the political system and its agents have been less than successful in their socialization efforts in this area.

CHAPTER IV. CONCLUSIONS

This study has attempted to chart developmental patterns in pre-adults' orientations to their nation, to social power, to government, to authority, and to laws. The data were collected by means of quasi-depth interviews with ninety-six students in the Buffalo, New York school system.

The data from this study reveal that the very young American pre-adult's cognitive orientation toward his nation centers around aspects of the child's own life and immediate, physical surroundings. As the pre-adult matures and his cognitive structure becomes less egocentric and less tied to the concrete world of perception and more capable of reciprocal and abstract thought, his cognitive orientation toward his nation comes increasingly to focus on aspects of America's economic, social, and--especially---political systems. By the time the pre-adults reaches adolescence, political objects have become the major focal point in his beliefs about his nation.

The data here also reveal that American pre-adults in general have a highly positive view of their nation and nationality. Almost universally, they express pride in their Americanism and, in general, they believe that a foreign youth would wish to become an American while they believe that they themselves could not be happy living in another country. And, at least during their elementary school years, they find it much easier to discuss what they like about their nation than to discuss what they do not like about it.

The child's early positive attachment for the nation appears to stem from the favorable view he has of his own personal life and surroundings. Later, however, aspects of America's social and political systems (especially the specific political values of freedom and democracy) are the major foci for attachment to the nation.

The data here reveal some differences between black and white pre-adults in their affect for the nation. Among the Buffalo respondents, blacks were more likely than whites to believe that a foreign youth would want to become an American and less likely to believe that they themselves could be happy elsewhere. However, except for the second graders, the black respondents were more willing to discuss the negative aspects of their nation than their white counterparts were and less likely than their white counterparts to discuss the nation in positive terms. These differences. which were quite pronounced among the fifth and eighth graders but small among the eleventh graders, were attributed to the black's earlier awareness of "social problems" in America.

This study indicates that the concept of social power begins to become understandable to the pre-adult at about the time he reaches grade five. Gradually, the child moves from a conception of social power based on force to a conception of power based on influence or persuasion.

The Buffalo respondents seemed, for the most part, to have little quarrel with the distribution of power in society. By their reckoning, power was widely distributed and fairly used by those in authority. The younger respondents tended to share the idealistic view that those in power

had worked hard to acquire their power. The older respondents were more realistic and cynical. They frequently mentioned instances in which individuals acquired power or influence irrespective of their merits or endeavors.

At all grade levels, the Buffalo students thought first of the President when they thought about authorities or leaders and all discussed leaders in relatively favorable terminology. At the lower grade levels, the youngsters emphasized the benign characteristics of leaders, at the higher grade levels, they mentioned competence and knowledge more often.

With age, the maturing pre-adult increasingly comes to expect a fair hearing from those in authority, both at the local and national levels. The older pre-adult, though, is realistic. Although he expects to have his case heard, he is less likely than his younger counterpart to believe he can sway authorities to his point of view. Black pre-adults apparently view authorities as more arbitary than their white counterparts; blacks are less likely to believe individuals get a fair hearing from authorities but more likely to believe that authorities would comply with the requests of those who gain their ear.

Overall, the Buffalo respondents had positive views about authority figures and rated the job performance of recent Presidents quite high. Blacks, however, were significantly less likely than whites to give positive ratings to specific Presidents or to political leaders in general.

The data here suggest that the young pre-adults has a restrictive view of rules and laws. Laws exist to compel, to restrict, and to punish individuals. The older pre-adult has a more instrumental view of law. Laws guide individuals, organize society, or attempt to achieve some social purpose.

The young pre-adult also tends to view laws as unchanging and to view all laws as good and fair. The older respondent is again more realistic in his conception of law and laws. Again, there is a tendency here for black respondents to be less positive in their orientations than their white counterparts.

In attempting to understand the pre-adult's developing orientation to political objects, Piaget's model of the dynamics of belief acquisition and formation would appear to be useful. According to Piaget, the very young child begins with a belief system that is structurally "undeveloped" and relatively devoid of specific content. Gradually, in an almost imperceptible fashion, the individual assimilates specific beliefs or content into his belief system. But these beliefs are not just added on to or absorbed into his current belief system; they are interpreted and given meaning by the existing content and structure. Then, as the individual's belief system incorporates these new beliefs, it accommodates itself to the new content contained therein. In this way, the cognitive structure of the individual's belief system "develops" and in developing becomes capable of absorbing ever newer and more content.

This model of learning clarifies the meaning of some of the data reported here. Consider, for example, the second graders' beliefs about their nation. To a large extent, the content of these beliefs is centered

around their own personal lives and their concrete, material environment. Piaget's theory reveals why that is so. In its structure, the young child's belief system is very egocentric and concrete. In content, his general beliefs center around his everyday life: his family, his home life, his friends, his daily activities, and his immediate surroundings. At some point, the child assimilates new content· he learns that he lives in America. But, he does not just add this new content on to his belief system. He restructures the content to fit within his belief system. America becomes another name for where he lives, and so when he thinks of America, he thinks of his personal life and his immediate surroundings. Furthermore, through the function of organization, the new content is related to old content and the child's beliefs about his nation become an extension of his beliefs about his everyday life and surroundings. This may explain why black pre-adults begin to associate their nation with its "social problems" at an earlier age than do white pre-adults. The nation's social problems are so much more a part of the black's everyday life that they have come to be "accepted" as part of that life and even associated, by extension, with the nation.

Shortly after the child learn that he lives in America, he may learn that the Flag and other national symbols "stand for" America. The concept of symbolic representation may be too abstract for him to grasp, but he does associate the flag with his nation and, consequently, with his previous thought patterns about his nation. Similarly, he may eventually come to associate the even more abstract concept of "freedom" with his nation. But, in doing so, he must reinterpret or restructure this new content so that it fits more readily with the structure and content of his previous belief system. Thus his beliefs about national symbols and America's political value system begin as essentially concrete and egocentric beliefs and only later acquire the abstract and decentered components of the older person's beliefs.

But even as the individual is assimilating new content about his nation, he is also accommodating his belief system to fit this new content. For example, as he assimilates the information that America encompasses more territory than where he lives, and the information that people are free in America, his belief system must accommodate itself to this new content by becoming more sociocentric and abstract. In this way, the individual is constantly decentering his beliefs about his nation (as well as other things) and he is acquiring and forming a more abstract world-view.

Piaget's theory would also appear to be useful in attempting to understand other aspects of the data reported here.

The young pre-adult's difficulty with the concepts of social power and authority results from the fact that he is still in the stage of concrete operations. Not having obtained the stage of formal operations, he is unable to grasp the nature of the interactive systems involved in power and authority. Once the youngster enters the period of formal operations--which Piaget indicates occurs by age fifteen--he has little trouble thinking in abstract terms and comprehending the rather abstract concepts of power and authority. He comes to define power not in terms of the concrete notion of force but in terms of the abstract notions of persuasion and influence.

As the pre-adult matures, he also loses his tendency to personlize and personify political concepts and ideas. Correspondingly, he comes more and more to recognize the role of institutions and processes in the political system. Again this can be directly traced to the level of cognitive development of the pre-adult. The young child, for example, unable to discourse for any period of time at a high level of abstraction, sees laws as immutable promulgations of political leaders, universally good and *universally fair, precisely because* they "came from the President." The older pre-adult, on the other hand, sees laws as man-made social conventions, perhaps good, perhaps fair, generally more or less useful to achieve a certain purpose.

Generally, then, the cognitive developmental model of learning would seem to be a useful guide to understanding the pre-adult's developing political belief system. As the child matures and cognitive development takes place, his orientations to politics become less concrete and less egocentric, more abstract and more sociocentric. This affects not only the structure of his belief system but the specific content of his beliefs as well. This study attempted to sketch, in broad strokes, the contours of cognitive structure and the subsequent effects of cognitive structure on the political content of pre-adults' belief systems.

Unanswered in this study are several questions. What are the interrelationships between different aspects of pre-adults' belief systems? What accounts for cultural and subcultural differences in political belief systems? What happens to the structure and content of the individual's belief system when he reaches adulthood?

A partial answer to the first question may be available with further analysis of the data collected for this study. Answers to the latter two questions must await other more ambitious research projects.

CHAPTER V. RECOMMENDATIONS

There are several ways in which the research reported here can be instructive for the teaching of social studies in American elementary and secondary schools. Both the content of the Buffalo respondents' beliefs *and a Piagetian interpretation* of that content offer several suggestions applicable to both curriculum development and classroom teaching methods.

For example, the research reported here reveals that pre-adults go through several "stages" in thinking about politics. During his elementary school years, the youngster's cognitive conception of politics and government is highly personalized and phenomenological. The young child visualizes politics and government only in concrete terms and only through the lens of his everyday life. His view of his nation is, for example, dominated by his egocentrism. While the child is still thinking in egocentric and concrete terms, the use of visual aids such as pictures, maps, and tangible objects (in addition to the flag) would seem to be especially appropriate aids in the learning process. Classroom or textbook content about the nation or politics which does not take into account the egocentrism of the child at this stage cannot be assimilated by the child. It is not until the child's cognitive structure has developed or accomodated itself to more abstract and sociocentric modes of thought that the child can assimilate the more depersonalized and complex aspects of his nation and its political system.

Movement away from this egocentric and concrete view of politics occurs as the child develops the concept of reciprocity or relativity. In some children, the notion of reciprocity may begin to be developed by age seven or eight. Witness, for example, the following verbal exchange between the interviewer and one of the Buffalo second graders interviewed for this project:

I: Is the American government better or worse than other governments?
R: It's better to us and worse to other people.
I: What do you mean by that?
R: Well, in other countries, they think their government is the best government.
I: Why do you think ours is the best and they think theirs is the best?
R: Well, because they might think that their language is better, that they talk a better way, and that they have better countries and cities.
I: If we think ours is best and they think theirs is best, who is right?
R: I don't know. Like in wars, a lot of people think they're the good guys and the other people who they're fighting are the bad guys and the people on the other side think they're the good guys and that we're the bad guys.
I: Well, who is the good guy?
R: To us, our side is, and to them their side is. /White second grader/

More commonly, however, it is not until the middle or later elementary school years that most children attain a true understanding of reciprocity. Curriculum planners and teachers can hasten the process of development in this area by the earlier presentation of material dealing with nations, cultures, and peoples other than that of the child. Material which stresses the similarities rather than the differences among peoples would seem to be especially useful in helping the child attain the concept of reciprocity. The attainment of a true understanding of reciprocity would seem to be perhaps the single most important point for developing in the child an accurate and mature view of politics and government.

There is a second reason for urging that the "comparative approach" be more widely utilized in social science teaching. The Buffalo respondents were considerably more capable of discussing differences and similarities in social customs and habits than of discussing differences and similarities in social and political organizations and processes. The most common political comparisons between America and other countries that were comparisons between "democracy in America" and dictatorships in Communist countries. This simplistic comparison amounts to little more than sloganeering and it does little to foster true understanding of our political system. A more explicit commitment to a comparative approach in history and government courses would provide students witha firmer grasp of the essence of the American system and how it works.

The data from this study also suggest that the pre-adult, at the end of his elementary school years, has an "idealized" view of his nation, and its political system. He thinks of the nation mainly in positive terms and he emphasizes its noble political values and principles. To a large extent, this is probably attributable to the school curriculum and textbooks.[1] The teaching of noble political values and principles is, of course, desirable. But, in addition to emphasizing political values and principles, social science courses should also stress political institutions and processes. The Buffalo respondents were much less knowledgeable about political institutions and processes in America than about democracy, freedom, equality, and the like. Knowledge about political processes and institutions is important because it is these processes and institutions which emobody the principles upon which our system is based. An understanding of the principles without a corresponding understanding of the institutions and processes can result in an overly idealized and superficial conception of the political system.

But there is an even greater potential danger when a overly idealized picture of the nation is presented to the young child: later, when he discovers that all is not as rosy as he was led to believe, he may become disillusioned with the nation and its political system. One of the Buffalo eleventh graders appeared to be expressing this type of disillusionment when she responded to some questions about America:

I: What do you think of when you hear the word America?
R: I don't think of anything. It's just a word to me now . . .
It doesn't inspire me or anything. It's just a word.
I: What do you think of when you hear the words the United States?
R: Hypocrite.

I: Do you think America is different from other countries?
R: Yes.
I: What are some of the differences?
R: She puts on a big front in all that she is and does . . . Other countries, they may be dictator ruled but the people know it; they know what they're living in, and we don't. /Black eleventh grader/

This type of disillusionment could very well be prevented if a more balanced picture of the nation were presented in history and social science courses. Courses in "social problems" are a step in the right direction; but, even more important, a more explicit awareness of the danger of over-glorifying the nation should guide the planning of curricula and the presentation of subject matter in the classroom. The earlier introduction of a more balanced picture of the nation would--in addition to being truer to reality--better prepare the youth for entry into the "real world." An example: not many of the Buffalo respondents of elementary or secondary school age associated politics in America with social conflict. Yet group conflict is relatively frequent in American politics. As these Buffalo youth mature, they will undoubtedly become aware of this group conflict. The danger is that they will react by condemning politics as "dirty" and withdraw from active participation. Far from constituting a threat to the system, the earlier introduction of a balanced and realistic picture of America and politics in America can lead to a "democratic loyalty" which is functional for the system as well as the individual.

One final thought: several specific suggestions on teaching methods may also be derived from the Piagetian framework which has guided this research. Piaget's theory would suggest, for example, that the use of problem-solving techniques and the use of "discovery" are especially appropriate techniques for teaching. But, perhaps most importantly, the development of the concept of reciprocity, according to Piaget, depends on an exchange of ideas between equals. This would suggest that--at a minimum--children should be treated with respect and dignity in the classroom. It would also suggest that teachers should recognize that their students all have some pre-conceived notions about politics and the nation and attempt to build on these notions so that the students come away from their learning experiences with more knowledge and a better integrated political belief system. Obviously, individualized instruction based on the level of cognitive development of each student would be the most desirable method for implementing this type of instruction. Necessary compromises with the notion of individualized instruction should, however, remain as true as possible to the above principles.

NOTES

Notes to Chapter I

1. Among the most important empirical studies of political socialization are: Robert Hess and Judith Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1967); David Easton and Jack Dennis, Children in the Political System: Origins of Political Legitimacy (New York: McGraw Hill, 1969); Kenneth Langton, Political Socialization (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969); Fred Greenstein, Children and Politics (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1956); R. W. Connell, The Child's Conception of Politics (Melbourne, Australia: Melbourne University Press, 1971); and Charles Andrain, Children and Civic Awareness: A Study in Political Education (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Co., 1971).

2. On the role of the school in the political socialization process, see, in addition to the works cited in note 1, Kenneth Langton and M. Kent Jennings, "Political Socialization and the High School Civics Curriculum in the United States," American Political Science Review, LXII (1968), pp. 852-867; Edgar Litt, "Civic Education, Community Norms, and Political Indoctrination," American Sociological Review, XXVIII (1963), pp. 69-75; Irving Morrissett and W. William Stevens, Jr., eds., Social Science in the Schools: A Search for Rationale (1971); Lee Ehman, "An Analysis of the Relationships of Selected Educational Variables with the Political Socialization of High School Students," American Educational Research Journal, VI (1969), pp. 559-580; and Kenneth Hoover, "Using Controversial Issues to Develop Democratic Values among Secondary School Social Studies Students," Journal of Experimental Education, XXXVI (1967-1968), pp. 64-69.

3. Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, p. 33.

4. See Robert Hess and Judith Torney, The Development of Basic Attitudes and Values toward Government and Citizenship during the Elementary School Years: Part I (Washington, D.C.: Office of Education, 1965), p. 53.

5. See Jean Piaget, The Child's Conception of the World (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1930), Judgment and Reasoning in the Child (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1928), The Language and Thought of the Child, 2nd ed. (New York: World Publishing Company, 1955). See also Barbel Inhelder and Jean Piaget, The Growth of Logical Thinking from Childhood to Adolescence (New York: Basic Books, 1958) and John Flavell, The Developmental Psychology of Jean Piaget (Princeton, New Jersey: The Van Nostrand Company, 1963).

Notes to Chapter II

1. On the need for a true measure of "agreement" rather than a measure of linear relationship (correlation) in coding of this kind, see W. S. Robinson, "The Statistical Measure of Agreement," American Sociological Review, XXII (1957), pp. 17-25. This procedure was apparently used in the Adelson study of adolescents' political thinking. Lynette Beall reports: "Reliability was computed as a percentage of agreement between two coders on all eighty-four coding variables." Lynette Beall, "Political Thinking in Adolescence" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1967), p. 41.

2. Lynette Beall, "Political Thinking in Adolescence," p. 41.

Notes to Chapter III

1. The respondents were questioned about what the term "America" meant to them and they were asked what they liked and disliked about America. In addition, all spontaneously offered comments about America were coded and are reported in Tables 3 and 4.

2. It should be noted that the students were not told in advance that the interview would be about politics and that great care was taken to "conceal" the political content of the later questions from the respondents during this first part of the interview. Consequently, the high percentage of references to politics should not be attributable to a "cueing" process.

3. All of the quotations in the text are literal transcriptions of the taped interviews.

4. The questions used were: "How is America different from other countries?" and "How is America the same as other countries?".

Notes to Chapter V

1. On this point, see Robert Hess, "Political Socialization in the Schools," Harvard Educational Review, XXXVIII (1968), pp. 528-536.

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APPENDIX A. INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Hello, my name is _____. I've come here to ask you a few questions about some things that I think you will find interesting. But first, let me tell you a little bit about what I'm doing. I'm going around to several grade and high schools like yours and talking to some students. This isn't a test; and there aren't any right or wrong answers to the questions that I'll ask you. I'm just interested in what you think about them. You'll find most of the questions very easy, but some of them are a little bit hard. If you don't understand any of the questions, you tell me. O.K.?

INTERVIEWER - TURN ON THE TAPE RECORDER AND MAKE SURE IT'S ON RECORD.

Now, I'm going to turn on this tape recorder. I have to use it because I won't be able to remember all of your answers. Now, don't let it frighten you, and be sure to talk loud enough so that I'll be able to hear you when I play back the tape. O.K.?

INTERVIEWER - THIS FIRST SECTION IS A WARM UP SECTION TO PUT THE RESPONDENT AT EASE. TAKE TEN MINUTES OR SO AND FOLLOW UP ANY LINE OF QUESTIONING THAT INTERESTS THE RESPONDENT. ALL OF THE STARRED QUESTIONS ARE MANDATORY. THE OTHERS ARE MERELY SUGGESTED QUESTIONS.

* 1. Now, I'd like to find out a little bit about you. How old are you? And when is your birthday?

SCHOOL Questions

*1a. How long have you been going to school here?

INTERVIEWER - ASK (1b.) ONLY TO HIGH SCHOOL AND JUNIOR HIGH STUDENTS.

*1b. Where did you go to grade school? What school?

1c. What subjects do you like the best in school? What else?

1d. Are there any subjects that you don't like? Why is that?

1e. How do you like school in general?

RESPONDENT'S INTERESTS

1f. What do you usually do when you get home from school?

1g. Do you like to read? What kinds of books do you like to read?

1h. Do you ever watch television? What are your favorite programs?

1i. Do you play any sports? Which ones?

1j. Do you belong to any clubs? Which ones?

HOME questions

*1k. How many people are there in your family? How many brothers and sisters do you have?

INTERVIEWER - ASK QUESTION (11.) ONLY IF THE RESPONDENT MENTIONS HIS FATHER IN THE ABOVE QUESTION. OTHERWISE, SKIP THE QUESTION. IF YOU DO ASK IT, PROBE TO GET SPECIFIC AND EXACT INFORMATION AS TO FATHER'S OCCUPATION.

11. What kind of work does your father do? Can you tell me a little more about that.

*1m. What kind of work do you want to do when you are older? Why is that?

INTERVIEWER - THIS BEGINS THE MAJOR PART OF THE INTERVIEW. CHECK TO SEE THAT THE RECORDER IS ON RECORD. TRY TO CONTINUE THE CONVERSATIONAL TONE AND KEEP THE RESPONDENT AT EASE. REMEMBER TO PROBE FOR DETAILS AND REASONS ON ALL QUESTIONS.

2. Now, I'd like to tell you a couple of stories and ask you what you think of them. Here's the first one. Some boys were playing football in an empty field. A pass was thrown and the boy who ran to catch it ran up into a yard next to the field and stepped on some flowers that the man who lived there had planted. Should he be punished for this? Why do you say that?

IF R SAYS YES TO Q. 2, ASK: How should he be punished? Why do you say that?

IF R SAYS NO TO Q. 2, ASK: Suppose the man who owned the property thought he should be punished. Now let me ask you, how should he be punished? Why do you say that?

3. Now, let me suggest four kinds of punishment. You tell me which would be the fairest punishment. First, the man could yell at the boy. Second, he could give him a beating. Third, he could make the boy buy some new flowers and plant them. Fourth, he could forbid the boy to play football for a month. Which of these do you think would be the fairest punishment?

Why do you think that one is the fairest? PROBE HERE FOR THE STANDARDS OF FAIRNESS THE RESPONDENT IS USING.

3a. What do we mean when we say that a punishment is fair?

PROBE: Can you explain that a little more for me?

4. Suppose the man who owned the property decided that all the boys should be punished even though only one had stepped on the flowers. What do you think of that? Why do you say that?

PROBES: Should all the boys be punished or not? Why (not)?

Would it be fair to punish all of them? Why (not)?

5. Now, after the man went back into the house, one of the boys picked up a rock and threw it at the house. He didn't really mean to break anything but it broke a window. The man came running out again and asked who had broken the window, but no one would tell. Were the boys wrong not to tell on the boy who had broken the window?

PROBES: Why were (weren't) they wrong?

Any other reasons?

5a. If you were one of these boys, would you have told on your friend?

PROBE: Why would (wouldn't) you tell?

6. If the man couldn't find out who had thrown the rock and broken the window, should he punish all the boys or let them all go?

PROBES: Why should he do that?

Any other reasons?

7. Suppose the man who owned the property called the parents of all the boys and all the parents decided to punish their sons. Half of the parents made their sons quit playing football for a month. The other parents made their sons stay home for one night. Now, three months later, one of the boys was throwing rocks again and broke another window. Do you think he was one of the boys who had to quit playing football for one month or one night? Why did you choose that one?

PROBE: Which of the punishments do you think was the best to stop the boys from throwing rocks? Why do you say that one?

INTERVIEWER - QUESTION 8 IS INTENDED AS A CHALLENGE TO R's ANSWER TO QUESTION 7. ASK ONLY THE APPROPRIATE VERSION.

8. IF THE RESPONSE ABOVE WAS THE HARSH PUNISHMENT (ONE MONTH), SAY:

Most people would disagree with you. They would say that it would be one of the other boys, because they could get away with an easy punishment again. What do you think of this answer?

PROBE: DO YOU WANT TO CHANGE YOUR MIND NOW AND AGREE WITH THESE PEOPLE? WHY(NOT)?

IF THE RESPONSE WAS THE EASY PUNISHMENT (ONE NIGHT), SAY:

Most people would disagree with you. They would say that it would be one of the other boys, because their punishment was too hard and they would probably throw rocks again to get even with the man and their parents. What do you think of this answer?

PROBE: DO YOU WANT TO CHANGE YOUR MIND NOW AND AGREE WITH THOSE PEOPLE? WHY (NOT)?

9. Now, here's another story. This story is about a boy your age. He was a good boy, generally, but he sometimes took things. He had a friend who was a very good basketball player but whose parents didn't have much money, and this friend couldn't afford to get basketball shoes. One day, when the first boy was downtown, he went into a store and took some ten dollar basketball shoes and gave them to his friend. Then, a couple of weeks later, he went into a store and took a box of candy that cost one dollar. He didn't tell anyone about the candy. He just hid it and ate it all himself. Now, he wasn't caught either time and no one ever found out where his friend got the basketball shoes. I want to ask you: Which time was the stealing worse, when he stole the shoes or when he stole the candy?

PROBES: Why was that one worse? Any other reasons?

When someone steals something, does it make any difference how much the thing costs? Why?

Does it make any difference what you do with the thing after you steal it? Why?

Does the reason you steal something make a difference? Why?

10. Suppose that six months later, this same boy stole a football for himself. He wasn't caught this time either; but when he was running home, he tripped and broke his leg. His mother told him that this was a punishment for stealing the football, and that if he hadn't stolen the football, he probably wouldn't have fallen and broken his leg. Do you think his mother was right? Why do you say that?

PROBE: Is a person always punished, in some way or another, when he does something wrong? Why do you think that?

11. Now, here's a different kind of story. Suppose that one day a spaceman from Mars or some other planet landed just outside your door and you were the first person he saw. He was a friendly spaceman and he wanted to find out as much about you and the place you lived as he could. So first, he asked you to tell him as much as you could about yourself. What would you tell him?

INTERVIEWER - PROBE FOR NON-PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION RESPONSES.

PROBES: How would you describe yourself for him?

What else would you tell him about yourself?

What would you tell him about the way you live?

11a. O.K., now, suppose he asked you about the place you lived. What would you tell him about it? What else? Can you tell him a little more about that?

INTERVIEWER - PROBE EACH RESPONSE IN DETAIL. TRY TO GET DESCRIPTIONS OF R.'s HOME, NEIGHBORHOOD, COMMUNITY, CITY, STATE, NATION, PLANET. CARRY EACH RESPONSE HE GIVES AS FAR AS YOU CAN.

PROBES: Can you tell me a little more about that?

What else can you tell me about that?

Can you explain that a little more?

11b. Now, suppose this spaceman told you that you could get in his spaceship and that he would take you and your family and any friends you wanted to any place on earth that you wanted to live. He could also take you backward in time to any time you wanted. Now, what time would you pick, and what place would you pick?

PROBES: Why would you pick that time? What other reasons?

Why would you pick that place? What other reasons?

12. Here's something a little different for you. I'd like to ask you what you think of when you hear the word America?

PROBE: What else? USE THREE OR FOUR TIMES.

INTERVIEWER - WE ARE SEARCHING HERE FOR RESPONSES IN TERMS OF NATION. IF R. ANSWERS IN TERMS OF THE CONTINENT OF NORTH AMERICA, ASK:

What do you think of when you hear the words the United States? What else? (3 or 4 times).

13. Is America (the United States) different from other countries?

PROBES: How is it different? Can you explain that for me?

How else is it different? Can you explain?

14. How is America the same as other countries?

PROBES: What other ways?

How else is it the same?

15. What is it about America that you like best? Why do you like that?

PROBE: What else do you like about America? USE 3 or 4 TIMES.

Why do you like that?

16. What is there about America that you don't like? Why don't you like that?

PROBE: What else don't you like? USE 3 or 4 TIMES. Why don't you like that?

INTERVIEWER - IF R. SAYS THAT HE LIKES EVERYTHING ABOUT AMERICA, SAY:

Surely, there must be something about America that you think is a little bit bad or that you are a little bit dissatisfied with. Now, what would that be? Why that? What else? Why that?

17. Let me ask you this. What makes a person an American?

PROBE: Can you explain that for me a little bit more?

How can we tell if a person is an American or not?

What kinds of questions could we ask a person to find out if he is an American?

Are you an American? Why are you an American?

18. How are Americans different from other people?

PROBE: What other ways? USE 3 or 4 TIMES.

Can you explain that to me in more detail.

INTERVIEWER- IF R. SAYS THAT THEY AREN'T DIFFERENT, ASK:

Why do you say that they aren't different? What other reasons?

19. How are Americans just like other people? Why do you say that?

PROBES: What other reasons? USE 3 or 4 TIMES.

Can you explain that for me?

20. Would you say that you are proud that you are an American? Why?

PROBE: What other reasons? Why? USE 3 or 4 TIMES.

21. Suppose I asked a Canadian or a German boy or girl your age if he would like to come to America with his family and live here and become an American. Do you think he would want to come or not? Why do you say that?

PROVE: What other reasons?

22. Do you think that you would be just as happy if you and your family lived in some other country? Why (not)?

PROBE: What other reasons? USE 3 or 4 TIMES.

23. Here's something a little different. What do we mean when we say that a person is powerful? Can you explain that a little more?

INTERVIEWER - WE ARE SEARCHING HERE FOR RESPONSES IN TERMS OF SOCIAL OR POLITICAL POWER. ASK AS MANY OF THE FOLLOWING PROBES AS IS NECESSARY TO GET THESE TYPES OF RESPONSES.

PROBES: Can you give me some examples of powerful people? Why are they powerful?

Can you give me some examples of very important people? Why are they important?
Would you say that they are powerful people?

Have you ever heard anyone say that a person is powerful if he can convince other people to do what he wants them to?
Can you give me some examples of this kind of person?

24. Where do powerful people get their power? Can you explain that for me?

PROBE: Did these people always have their power or did they have to earn it?

IF R. SAYS EARNED IT, ASK: How did they earn it?

25. Would you say that a lot of people have power in America or just a few? Why do you say that? Any other reasons?

26. Would you say that it would be better if a lot of people had power, or just a few? Why do you say that? Any other reasons?

27. What groups of people have the most power in America? Why do you say that group?

PROBE: What other groups? Why them?

27a. Do you think these groups have too much power? Why do you say that?

IF RESPONSE WAS YES, TOO MUCH POWER, ASK:

Should anything be done about this?
What should be done?
Why should something be done?

28. Are there any groups that don't have enough power in America?

IF RESPONSE WAS YES, SOME GROUPS DON'T HAVE ENOUGH POWER, ASK:

What groups do you mean?
Should anything be done about this?
Why should something be done?
What should be done? Why that?

29. Do you think ordinary people have any power in America?

IF RESPONSE WAS YES, THEY DO HAVE POWER, ASK:

What kind of power do they have?
Why do they have this power?
Do you think that it is good that they have this power?

IF RESPONSE WAS NO, ORDINARY PEOPLE HAVE NO POWER, ASK:

Should they have any power?
Why do you say that?

30. If a person has a lot of power, can he tell everyone what to do or just some people? Why is that?

IF RESPONSE WAS SOME PEOPLE, ASK:

What people can he tell what to do?
Why them?

31. Do you think that people who have power are usually pretty fair in the way they use their power or not? Can you explain your answer for me a little more?

32. What do you mean when you say that a person uses his power fairly? Anything else?

33. Now, here's another story for you. Suppose that some very rich and important people wanted to get a road or a highway built that was going to go right through your block. They said they needed this road in order to get downtown more quickly. In order to build this road, they would have to tear down your house and all the other houses on your block. Now, your parents and all the other people on your block didn't like this at all, so they got together and went to see the people in charge of building roads. Now, you finish the story for me. What do you think happened next?

INTERVIEWER - PROBE THE RESPONSES EXTENSIVELY AND MAKE THE RESPONDENT FILL IN THE WHOLE STORY. BE SURE TO GET RESPONSES TO THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS. YOU CAN USE THEM AS PROBES IF NECESSARY.

PROBES: Would the people in charge of building roads listen to them and give them a fair hearing?

Would they build the road anyway?

If they did decide to build the road, what would the people from your block do then?

What would the rich and important people do if the people in charge of building roads listened to the people from your neighborhood.

Who do you think these rich and important people were? What kind of people were they?

34. Here's another question for you. When people use the word politics, what does that make you think about?

PROBE: What else?

35. What do you think about politics in America? Why do you say that?

36. Is politics usually a pretty good thing or a pretty bad thing? Why do you say that?

37. Let me ask you this. When people use the word government, what does that make you think of?

PROBES: Can you explain that a little more?

What does the word government mean to you?

INTERVIEWER . IF R. THINKS THE GOVERNMENT IS A PERSON, ASK THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:

Can you tell me the name of the person you are thinking about?

What is his job?
What kinds of things does he do?

Do you know where he lives?

38. What kinds of things does a government usually do?

PROBE: What else? USE 3 or 4 TIMES.

39. Why do we have a government?

PROBE: What other reasons? USE 3 or 4 TIMES.

40. Tell me, do you think it is necessary to have a government? Why is that? Any other reasons?

41. What about the American government? What all can you tell me about it?

PROBE: What else can you tell me? USE 3 or 4 TIMES.

42. Is the American government different from the governments in other countries? Why do you say that?

PROBES: How is it different?
What other ways?

43. Would you say that the American government is a pretty good government or a pretty bad government? Why do you say that?

PROBE: What other reasons? USE 3 or 4 TIMES.

INTERVIEWER - TRY TO ASCERTAIN THE STANDARDS AND PRINCIPLES USED BY R. IN EVALUATING THE GOVERNMENT.

44. What do you think are the good points about the American government? Why do you say that?

PROBE: What else? USE 3 or 4 TIMES.
Why do you say that?

45. What do you think are the bad points about the American government? Why do you say that?

PROBE: What else? USE 3 or 4 TIMES.

INTERVIEWER - IF R. SAYS THERE ARE NO BAD POINTS, SAY:

Surely, there must be some little things that you don't like or are dissatisfied with. What might those be? What else? Why don't you like that?

46. Is the American government better or worse than other governments? Why do you say that?

PROBES: In what ways is it better?
What else?

In what ways is it worse?
What else?

47. If some people wanted to change the American government do you think they would be able to do it? Why (not)?

48. How would they go about changing it? Can you explain that to me in more detail?

49. Is there any way that you think the American government should be changed?

PROBE: How should it be changed?
Why do you say that?

50. Now, I have something a little different. I'd like to ask you if you think any of the following people work for the American government. O.K.?

INTERVIEWER - ASK EACH ONE SEPARATELY. THERE IS NO NEED TO PROBE THESE QUESTIONS. R. MAY, HOWEVER, VOLUNTEER AN EXPLANATION.

a. A Soldier - Does he work for the government or not?
b. A Teacher?
c. A Milkman?
d. A Congressman?
e. A Truck Driver?
f. A Policeman?
g. A Baseball Player?
h. A Mayor?
i. A Doctor?
j. A President?
k. A Mailman?

INTERVIEWER - IF R. ANSWERED YES TO ALL OF THE ABOVE OCCUPATIONS, ASK:

Do all of these people work for the government?

Why do you say that?

Can you give me any examples of people who don't work for the government?

51. Now, let me ask you this. Who do you think has the most power, people who work for the government or other people?

PROBE: Why do you say that?

52. Would you say that it would be better for the people who work for the government to have the most power, or for some other people to have the most power? Why do you say that?

53. Is there anybody who has power over the people who work for the government? Why is that?

IF R. ANSWERS YES, ASK: Who do you mean?

54. Now, I have another word I'd like to ask you about. Do you know what the word authority means? What do you think it means?

55. How about the word leader? What does that mean to you?

56. If someone talks about the leaders of our country; who does that make you think of?

PROBE: Who else?

57. Why do you suppose we have to have leaders?

PROBE: What other reasons can you think of?

58. What kind of people do you think become the leaders of our country?

PROBE: Is there anything special about the kind of people who become leaders?

Why do you suppose these kinds of people become leaders?

59. Can the leaders of our country do almost anything they want, or are there some things that they can't do?

IF R. ANSWERS ANYTHING THEY WANT, ASK:

Why is that?
Do you think this is a good thing or not?
Why?

IF R. ANSWERS SOME THINGS THEY CAN'T DO, ASK:

What kinds of things can't they do?
Why not?
Do you think this is a good thing or not?
Why not?

60. Do the leaders of our country have to obey the laws or not? Why is that?

IF R. ANSWERS YES, ASK: Is this a good thing or not? Why?

IF R. ANSWERS NO, ASK: Should they have to? Why (not)?

61. Now, can you tell me who the President of the country is?

62. Can you tell me how we get our Presidents in America?

PROBE: How do we choose our leaders?

Can you tell me how that works? PROBE FOR DETAILS.

63. Do you think that elections are a pretty good way of choosing leaders or not? Why are (aren't) they?

PROBE: What other reasons? USE 3 or 4 TIMES.

64. Can you think of any better ways of choosing leaders? Why is that better?

65. Do you think the President cares about ordinary people? Why do you say that?

PROBE: What other reasons?

66. Now, here is a story about an imaginary day in the life of the President. I want you to help me with this story, O.K.? First, the President wakes up in the morning and has breakfast. Then, he goes to his office. There he looks at his notebook to see what he has to do that day. What do you suppose he sees? What kinds of things does he have to do?

INTERVIEWER - PROBE EXTENSIVELY. TRY TO FILL IN THE WHOLE DAY. SUGGESTED PROBES: WHAT DOES HE DO IN THE MORNING? AFTER LUNCH? TRY TO COME UP WITH 8 OR 10 THINGS.

PROBE: What kinds of things does the President do in his job? What else?

66a. Now, suppose that as soon as he begins doing this first thing, a group of Congressmen come in and they say, "Mr. President, we heard that you were going to sign a law that we don't like. We don't want you to do it." Now, what do you think the President would say? What would he do then?

PROBES: Would he listen to the Congressmen? Why (not)?

Would he do what they wanted? Why (not)?

66b. Now, suppose that as soon as the Congressmen leave, a group of very important and very rich businessmen come in and they say to the President, "Mr. President, we heard that you were going to sign a law that we don't like. We don't want you to do it." Now what do you think the President would say? What would he do then?

PROBES: Would he listen to the Businessmen? Why (not)?

Would he do what they wanted? Why (not)?

66c. Now, suppose that as soon as the businessmen leave, a group of ordinary people come in and they say to the President, "Mr. President, we heard that you were going to sign a law that we don't like. We don't want you to do it." Now, what do you think the President would say? What would he do then?

PROBES: Would he listen to the ordinary people? Why (not)?

Would he do what they wanted? Why (not)?

66d. Now, suppose that as soon as the ordinary people leave, the leaders of three foreign nations come in and they say to the President, "Mr. President, we heard that you were going to sign a law that we don't like. We don't want you to do it." Now, what do you think the President would say? What would he do then?

PROBES: Would he listen to these leaders of foreign nations? Why (not)?

Would he do what they wanted? Why (not)?

66e. Who does the President listen to most: Congressmen, rich businessmen, ordinary people, or the leaders of other countries? Why do you say that?

PROBE: Any other reasons?

66f. Now, suppose that the President, who had a lot on his mind, decided to take a drive to relax. He wasn't concentrating on driving and he was speeding and almost had an accident. A policeman stopped him and walked up to the car. Then he saw that it was the President. What do you think he would say and do?

PROBES: Was the President breaking the law?

Was this wrong of him? Why?

Would the policeman give him a ticket? Why (not)?

Would the President have to pay the ticket? Why (not)?

67. Have most of the Presidents we have had in America been good leaders or not? Why do you say that?

PROBE: What other reasons?

68. Why do you suppose most Presidents turn out to be good (bad) leaders? (PROBE)

69. Do you think President Richard Nixon is doing a good job as President or not? Why do you say that?

69a. What kinds of things is he doing that are good?

PROBE: What else?

69b. What kinds of things is he doing that aren't so good?

PROBE: What else?

70. Do you think President Lyndon Johnson did a good job as President or not? Why do you say that?

70a. What kinds of things did he do that were good?

PROBE: What else?

70b. What kinds of things did he do that weren't so good?

PROBE: What else?

71. Do you think President John Kennedy did a good job as President or not? Why do you say that?

71a. What kinds of things did he do that were good?

PROBE: What else?

71b. What kinds of things did he do that weren't so good?

PROBE: What else?

72. Who did the best job, Nixon, Johnson, Kennedy? Why do you say that?

73. Who did the worst job, Nixon, Johnson, or Kennedy? Why do you say that?

74. Now, I'd like to ask you another question about President Kennedy? Do you remember how he died?

IF R. ANSWERS NO, SKIP TO Q. 76.
IF R. ANSWERS YES, ASK:

74a. Do you remember who shot him?

74b. Why would someone want to do something like that?

74c. Did only one man shoot him or was there more than one man?

IF R. ANSWERS ONE MAN, ASK:

Did anyone help him when he was planning to shoot the President or did he plan it alone?

IF R. ANSWERS MORE THAN ONE MAN, ASK:

Why do you think more than one man shot him? Who do you think planned this?

75. What should be done to someone who would shoot a President? Why do you say that? (PROBE).

76. Do you remember how the Reverend Martin Luther King died?

IF R. ANSWERS YES, ASK:

76a. Did only one man shoot him or was there more than one man? Why do you say that?

76b. What happened to the man who shot Martin Luther King? Anything else?

76c. Why would someone want to shoot Martin Luther King? Can you explain that to me in more detail?

77. Now, can you tell me what a rule is?

PROBE: Where do they come from?

Why do we have them?

77a. O.K., can you tell me what a <u>law</u> is?

78. What is the difference between a rule and a law? Can you explain that to me a little more?

79. Which is worse, to break a rule or a law? Why?

80. Do people have to obey laws? Why?

IF R. ANSWERS NO, ASK: <u>Should</u> they obey laws? Why?

81. Is there anybody who doesn't have to obey laws?

IF YES, ASK: Who? Why doesn't he (don't they)?

82. What happens to people who don't obey laws? Why is that?

83. Now, what would happen if nobody obeyed the laws? Why is that?

84. Can you tell me where laws come from? Who makes them up?

85. Can laws ever be changed? Why is that?

IF YES, ASK: Who can change laws? Why them? How are laws changed?

86. Why do you suppose that we need laws?

PROBE: What would it be like if we didn't have any laws? Why do you say that?

87. Do you think most people obey the laws most of the time?

PROBE: Why do you think they do?

88. Do you think people obey the laws because they are afraid they will be punished if they don't, or because they think it is right to obey laws? Can you go into more detail there?

89. Why do we punish people for not obeying the laws?

PROBE: What other reasons?

90. Do you think it is a good idea to punish people or not? Why do you say that?

91. If someone breaks a law, are they always caught and punished? Why do you say that?

IF NO, ASK: Are they usually caught and punished? Why do you say that?

92. Is it ever right to disobey a law?

IF YES, ASK: What kinds of laws are you thinking about there? Can you explain that for me?

93. Now, let me ask you if you think all laws are good laws? Why do you say that?

PROBE: What other reasons?

94. Are all laws fair laws? Why do you say that?

95. Is it O.K. to disobey a bad law or an unfair law? Why do you say that?

IF YES, ASK: What if you get caught, what happens then? Do you have to take your punishment? Why?

INTERVIEWER - TURN OFF TAPE RECORDER.

O.K. That finishes the interview. I would like to thank you very much for your help with the inverview. Now before I go, are there any questions that you want to ask me?

What did you think of the questions I asked you?

RESPONDENT DATA SHEET

Fill this out after you have left the school.

Respondent's I.D. (Interview #) _____

Date(s) Interview Conducted _____

Interviewer _____

School _____

Respondent's grade in school _____

Respondent's sex _____

Respondent's race _____

Comments - Comment here on the respondent's frame of mind during the interview, his reaction to the interview, and any other information you have about the respondent that will not show up on the tapes. Use the other side or extra sheets (please attach them to this sheet) if necessary. Use your imagination. Any information you can provide will be useful.

APPENDIX B. CODE BOOK

Deck 1

Kol.

1-2 Study number = 02

3-4 Deck number = 01

5-6 Respondent number = Interview number

7 Grade and Race
1. white second graders
2. black second graders
3. white fifth graders
4. black fifth graders
5. white eighth graders
6. black eighth graders
7. white eleventh graders
8. black eleventh graders

8 Interviewer - from Respondent data sheet
1. John Fitzpatrick
2. Debbie Dunkle
3. Eliz. Blettner
4. Barbara Sova
5. Debbie Moorman
6. Paula Allen
7. Jerry Dade

9 School
1. School 80
2. Kensington High
3. School 74
4. Clinton Jr. High
5. East High

10 Respondent's grade in school
1. Second
2. Fifth
3. Eighth
4. Eleventh

11 Sex
1. Male
2. Female

12 Race
1. Black
2. White

Kol.

13-14 Age of respondent - to nearest year. Code the number of years. (Assume all interviews done in May, 1969.)
00. Information not available

15 Interest in school - Does R. show that he enjoys school?
1. Yes
2. No
3. It depends, sometimes, ambivalent response
4. Not ascertainable

16 Occupation of Father (or major wage-earner in family)
0. Not available; not codeable
1. Unemployed
2. Unskilled laborer
3. Skilled laborer
4. Clerical or sales clerk
5. Minor civil servant or service worker (bus-driver, policeman)
6. Small businessman
7. Professional
8. Large business owner

America section

In this section, use the Nation-Nationality Master Code and code all responses to America in the interview. (See those pages with an A in the upper right-hand corner.)

First, identify all responses to be coded with parentheses () and note in the left hand margin of the interview protocal whether these responses are general references to America (G), factors which make America different from other nations (D) or similarities between America and other nations (S). These three types of responses will be coded in different Kols. /See below./

Second, decide whether each of the above responses involves an evaluation of America. Evaluations must be clearly stated. Do not assume that an evaluation is implied unless the respondent (or the interviewer) uses the words: good, bad, better, worse, I (don't) like it because . . . For example, code all responses to the question,"What are the good points about America?" as evaluations; but do not code the statement "America has more freedom than other nations," as a positive evaluation. For each positive evaluative statement, place a subscript 1 next to the G, D, or S in the left hand margin of the interview protocol. For each negative statement, place the subscript 2. For each neutral statement use a 0. /NOTE: The reference in the respondent's answer may be to another country besides America. In this case use 3 for positive references, 4 for negative references, and 5 for neutral references. Remember, the evaluations must be clearly stated./ The Subscripts are summarized on the following page.

Subscript Summary

0. Neutral reference to America
1. Positive reference to America (good, better, like)
2. Negative reference to America (bad, worse, don't like)
3. Pos. ref. to another country (good, better, like)
4. Neg. ref. to another country (bad, worse, dislike)
5. Neutral reference to another country

Each response in the America section is to be coded in a three digit field. The first digit of the three digit field will be the subscript which identifies the statement as a positive, negative, or neutral reference to America or some other nation. The second and third digits of the three digit field identify the specific content of the response. Fill these in by using the Nation-Nationality Master Code.

Code each separate thought of the R. as a separate response.

Do not code any response that was the result of a specific cue supplied by the interviewer.

The responses (or thoughts) of the R.'s will be grouped according to G's, D's, and S's. Code them in the following places.

Deck 1

Kol.

17-76 First twenty general responses (G) to nation. (Code all responses over twenty on the bottom of the code sheet under the heading "America--General.")

77 Grade School attended. (Code for junior high school and high school students only.)

0. Not applicable; not ascertainable
1. School 80
2. School 74
3. Other

78 Are one or both parents living at home?

0. Not ascertainable
1. Father and Mother living at home
2. Mother only living at home
3. Father only living at home

79 Number of brothers and sisters

0. None
1. one
2. two
3. three
4. four
5. five
6. six
7. seven
8. eight or more
9. No answer; not ascertainable

80 Respondent's career goals

0. No answer; not ascertainable; not codeable
1. Desires no employment
2. Unskilled laborer
3. Skilled laborer
4. Clerical or sales clerk
5. Minor civil servant or service worker (e.g. busdriver, policeman)
6. Small businessman
7. Professional
8. Large business owner
9. Entertainment industry (sports, music, etc.)

Deck 2

Kol.

1-6 Copy from Kol. 1-6 of Deck #1 changing only the deck number (Kol. 3-4) to 02.

7 Grade and School

1. Interview #85-96
2. " #37-48
3. " #73-84
4. " #25-36
5. " #61-72
6. " #13-24
7. " #49-60
8. " # 1-12

8-28 First seven differences (D) responses.
(Code all responses over seven on the bottom of the code sheet under the heading "America--Differences.")

29-37 First three similarities (S) responses.
(Code all responses over three on the bottom of the code sheet under the heading "America--Similarities.")

38 Is America different from other countries?

0. No response; don't know
1. Unqualified yes
2. Qualified yes
3. It depends
4. Qualified no
5. Unqualified no

NOTE: In this and all subsequent distinctions between qualified and unqualified responses, code as a "qualified" response only those responses where R. says such things as "sort of," or "I <u>think</u> so," etc. When in doubt, code it as an <u>Unqualified</u> response.

Deck 2

Kol.

39 Does R.'s answer to the question, "How is America different from other countries?" contain evidence of a spontaneously offered evaluative statement. Ignore all responses that were clearly elicited by a leading probe designed to elicit evaluations. /For a statement to be eva'uative, the terms: good, bad, better, or worse must be used./

0. Question not asked or answered
1. Evaluation made - America is better
2. Evaluation made - America is worse
3. No evaluation offered

40 For the question, "How is America the same as other nations?" was an evaluation spontaneously offered? /Follow the same procedures as above./

0. Question not asked or answered
1. Evaluation made - America is better
2. Evaluation made - America is worse
3. No evaluation offered

41 In the spaceman story, was the place chosen to go to in the spaceship in America?

0. Q. not asked or answered
1. Yes
2. No

42 Was there any mention of political or social problems in R.'s reasons for wanting to go to the place chosen in the spaceman story?

0. Q. not asked or answered
1. Yes, political or social problems mentioned
2. No, none mentioned

American (People) section (see pages marked AP)

The procedures here are similar to the previous section. First, identify the responses to be coded with parentheses (). Code each thought as a separate response. Second, mark each response according to the following scheme:

G - General responses
D - Differences
S - Similarities
FY - Reasons why a person from another country might want to come to America and live. (This will probably be used in response to only one specific question. The same holds for the next three designations.)
FN - Reasons why a foreigner might not want to come.
RY - Reasons why R. might want to live elsewhere
RN - Reasons why R. might not want to live elsewhere.

Third, use the following subscripts to designate whether the responses are positive, negative, or neutral references to America or some other country. Remember, evaluations must be clearly stated. Do not assume them.

0 - Neutral reference to America or American people
1 - Positive reference to America or American people
2 - Negative reference to America or American people
3 - Positive reference to some other nation
4 - Negative reference to some other nation
5 - Neutral reference to some other nation

The subscript becomes the first digit of the three digit code. The second and third digits refer to the content of the statement and are taken from the Nation-Nationality Master Code. Code the three digit fields in the appropriate places according to the following.

Deck 2

Kol.

43-66 Code the first eight differences (D).
(Code all responses over eight on the bottom of the code sheet under the heading "AP-D.")

67-78 Code the first four similarities (S).
(Code all responses over four on the bottom of the code sheet under the heading "AP-S.")

Deck 3

Kol.

1-7 Copy from Kol. 1-7 in Deck number 1, changing only the deck number (03 in Kol. 3-4).

8-67 Code the first twenty general responses (G)
(Code all responses over twenty on the bottom of the code sheet under the heading "AP-G.")

Deck 4

Kol.

1-7 Copy from Deck #1, Kol. 1-7, changing only the deck number (04 in Kol. 3-4).

8-22 Code the first five FY responses. (Foreigner would come.)

23-37 Code the first five FN responses. (Foreigner wouldn't come.)

38-52 Code the first <u>five RY</u> responses. (R. would go.)

53-67 Code the first <u>five RN</u> responses. (R. wouldn't go.) (Code all responses over five in any section at the bottom of the code sheet under the appropriate heading: "FY, FN, RY, OR RN.")

68 Does R. <u>offer aspontaneous evaluation</u> when asked, "What makes a person an American?" or when asked "How are Americans different from other people?" /See the instructions for Deck 2, Kol. 39./

0 - Q. not asked or answered
1 - Evaluation made - America is better
2 - Evaluation made - America is worse
3 - No evaluation offered

<u>Deck 4</u>

<u>Kol.</u>

69 What was R.'s response to the Q. "Are you proud that you are an American?" /See note on bottom of page 3./

0 - Q. not asked or answered
1 - Unqualified yes
2 - Qualified yes
3 - It depends
4 - Qualified no
5 - Unqualified no

70 Would Canadian or German boy want to come to America?

same code as above

71 Would R. be just as happy in another country?

same code as above

72 Is an evaluation of America spontaneously offered in <u>either</u> of the two above questions: "Would Canadian boy want to come?" "Would R. be just as happy?" /See the instructions for Deck 2, Kol. 39./

0 - Q. not asked or answered
1 - Evaluation offered - America is better
2 - Evaluation offered - America is worse
3 - No evaluation offered

Deck 5

Kol.

1-7	Copy from Deck 1, Kol. 1-7, changing only the deck number (05 in Kol. 3-4).
8-9	Record the total number of neutral responses about America (coded responses which have a zero as the first digit) that were coded in Kol. 17-76 of Deck 1 and at the bottom of Code Sheet 1.
10-11	Record the total number of positive responses about America (coded responses which have a one as the first digit) that were coded in Kol. 21-80 of Deck 1 and at the bottom of Code Sheet 1.
12-13	Record the total number of negative responses about America (coded responses which have a two as the first digit) that were coded in Kol. 21-80 of Deck 1 and at the bottom of Code Sheet 1.
14-15	Record the total number of differences between America and other nations coded in Kol. 8-28 of Deck 2 and at the bottom of Code Sheet 2.
16-17	Record the total number of similarities between America and other nations coded in Kol. 29-37 of Deck 2 and at the bottom of Code Sheet 2.
18-19	Record the total number of neutral comments about American people (coded responses which have a zero as the first digit) coded in Kol. 8-67 of Deck 3 and at the bottom of Code Sheet 3.
20-21	Record the total number of positive comments about American people (coded responses which have a one as the first digit) coded in Kol. 8-67 of Deck 3 and at the bottom of Code Sheet 3.
22-23	Record the total number of differences between American people and other people coded in Kol. 43-66 of Deck 2 and at the bottom of Code Sheet 2.
24-25	Record the total number of similarities between American people and other people coded in Kol. 67-78 of Deck 2 and at the bottom of Code Sheet 2.
26-27	Record the summed total of the responses from the nine preceding codes.
28	Racial Consciousness among blacks discussing their nation or nationality. Does R. mention "blacks" as a group or

refer to the fact that he is black in answering the questions about his nation and nationality?

0. Not a black respondent; not applicable
1. Yes
2. No

Deck 6

Kol.

1-7 Copy from Kol. 1-7, Deck 1, changing only the deck number (06 in Kol. 3-4).

SOCIAL POWER SECTION -- See pages marked SP in the upper-right hand corner of the interview protocol

8 Read the sections of the interview protocol marked SP (except for the final questions on politics) and determine whether R. has any conception of social and political power. Do not count respondents who respond to the social power questions only in terms of the physical strength or prowess of a person or a group of persons as having a conception of social power.

0. No answer; not ascertainable
1. R. has no conception of social power - the only kind of power he recognizes is physical power
2. R. has a conception of social power but only after extensive probing by the Interviewer
3. R. has a clear conception of social power even without deep probing by the Interviewer.

9 Respondent's conception of social power

0. No response; not ascertainable
1. No conception or incorrect conception of social power
2. Power mainly means force or coercion
3. Power mainly means influence or persuasion
4. Other

10 Respondent's conception of the source of power

0. No response; not ascertainable
1. No conception or incorrect conception of social power
2. Power comes from position: (social, economic, political, legal, etc.)
3. Power must be earned through hard work/competence
4. Power is given by the people or comes from the people
5. Other

11 Do powerful people always have power or do they have to earn it?

0. Q. not asked or answered; not ascertainable
1. No or incorrect conception of social power

2. They always have it
3. They have to earn it
4. Ambivalent response; "it depends"
5. Other

Deck 6

Kol.

13 Do a lot of people have power or just a few?
0. Q. not asked or answered; not ascertainable
1. No conception or incorrect conception of social power
2. A lot of people have power - based on the franchise
3. A lot of people have power - based on other reasons or unspecified further
4. Just a few have power - economic elite
5. Just a few people have power - political elite
6. Just a few have power - a secret cabal runs things
7. Just a few have power - based on other elites or not specified further
8. Ambivalent response: "it depends"

14 Would it be better if a lot of people had power or just a few?
0. Q. not asked or answered; not ascertainable
1. No conception or incorrect conception of social power
2. Better if a lot of people have power - democracy response
3. Better if a lot of people have power - other reponse or not specified further
4. Better if few people have power - efficiency response
5. Better if few people have power - social harmony response
6. Better if few people have power - other response or unspecified response
7. Ambivalent response: "it depends"

15 Groups with the most power--1st response
0. No response; not ascertainable
1. No conception or incorrect conception of social power
2. Economic groups -- businessmen, the rich, the advantaged
3. Whites
4. Blacks
5. Older people
6. Political groups or political leaders
7. Other groups mentioned

16 Groups with the most power - 2nd response
(Same as previous code)

17 Groups with the most power - 3rd response
(Same as the previous code)

18 Groups with the most power - 4th response
(Same as previous code)

19 Do these groups have too much power?
0. No response; not ascertainable
1. No conception or incorrect conception of social power
2. Yes, they have too much power
3. No, they do not have too much power
4. Ambivalent response; "it depends"

20 Should anything be done about groups with too much power?
0. No response; not ascertainable
1. No conception or incorrect conception of social power
2. Nothing should be done
3. Something should be done--not specified further or other response
4. Powerful groups should have to give up some of their power
5. Weaker groups should gain more power through individual action (e.g. education, hard work)
6. Weaker groups should gain more power through group action--no mention of politics
7. Weaker groups should gain more power through political action
8. Ambivalent response; "it depends"

21 Groups with not enough power--1st response
0. No response; not ascertainable
1. No conception or incorrect conception of social power
2. Economic groups--the poor
3. Whites
4. Blacks
5. Youth
6. Political groups (e.g. the voters)
7. The average person; the common man
8. Other

22 Groups with not enough power--2nd response
(Same as previous code)

23 Groups with not enough power-3rd response
(Same as previous code)

24 Groups with not enough power--4th response
(Same as previous code)

Deck 6

Kol.

25 Should anything be done about groups with not enough power?
(Same as code used in Deck 6, Kol. 20. See previous page.)

26 Do ordinary people have any power in America?

0. No answer; not ascertainable
1. No conception or incorrect conception of social power
2. They have no power
3. They do have power--not specified further or other response
4. They do have power--personal system power or personal influence over some people (e.g. "everyone can tell some person what to do," "parents have power over their children")
5. They do have power--the vote
6. They do have power--other political response
7. Ambivalent response; "it depends"

27 Should ordinary people have power?

0. Question not asked or answered; not ascertainable
1. No conception or incorrect conception of social power
2. No, they wouldn't know how to use it properly (e.g. "it would lead to chaos," "everybody would be telling everybody else what to do")
3. No, other response or not specified further
4. Yes, it would be good for the individuals (e.g. "it would help them")
5. Yes, it would be good for the system (i.e. "society" or the "government")
6. Yes, it would be good for the individuals and for the system
7. Yes, other response or not specified further
8. Ambivalent response; "it depends"

28 Limits on power-- If a person has a lot of power, can he tell everyone what to do or just some people?

0. No answer; not ascertainable
1. No conception or incorrect conception of social power
2. Everyone
3. Just some people--hierarchy of power response (e.g. "just those people under him")

4. Just some people--because of the limitations of communication
5. Just some people--legal or constitutional limits
6. Just some people--other response or not specified further
7. Ambivalent response; "it depends"

Deck 6

Kol.

29 Are powerful people fair in the way they use their power?
0. No answer; not ascertainable
1. No conception or incorrect conception of social power
2. Yes, they are fair--or they will be voted out of office
3. Yes, they are fair--constitutional or legal limits on power
4. Yes, they are fair--other reasons cited or response not specified further
5. No, they are not fair--other response or response not specified further
6. Ambivalent response; "it depends"

30 What does R. mean by the fair use of power?
0. No answer; not ascertainable
1. No conception or incorrect conception of social power
2. Fairness means lack of strictness
3. Fairness means helping others
4. Fairness means lack of arbitrariness or it means equality
5. Fairness means acting within constitutional or legal limits
6. Other

31 Road Building Story--Would people in charge of building roads listen to the people on your block?
0. No answer; not ascertainable
1. Yes
2. No
3. Ambivalent response; "it depends"

32 Would they build the road anyway?
0. No answer; not ascertainable
1. Yes
2. No
3. Ambivalent response; "it depends"

33 If they decided to build the road, what would the people from your block do? -- 1st response

0. No response; not ascertainable
1. They would do nothing; "give up and accept it"
2. Go to a higher authority
3. Take individual action (e.g. "write a letter to the editor")
4. Form an organized group and take organized action (incl. "petition")
5. Other

Deck 6

Kol.

34 What would the people on your block do? -- 2nd response

35 What would the people on your block do? -- 3rd response

36 Conflict orientation -- Does R.'s answer to the question about what the people living on his block would do stress conflict or conflict avoidance?

0. No response; not ascertainable
1. No conception or incorrect conception of social power
2. R.'s response stresses conflict behavior -- confrontation or violence
3. R.'s response stresses conflict behavior -- use of legal or other socially sanctioned mechanism
4. R.'s response stresses conflict avoidance -- withdrawal
5. R.'s response stresses conflict avoidance -- compromise
6. R.'s response stresses conflict avoidance -- find a new solution
7. R.'s response stresses conflict avoidance -- other
8. R.'s response stresses both conflict and conflict avoidance

37 What would the rich and important people do if the people in charge of building roads listened to the people from your block? -- 1st response
(Same as code for Deck 6, Kol. 33)

38 What would the rich and important people do? -- 2nd response
(Same as code for Deck 6, Kol. 33)

39 What would the rich and important people do? -- 3rd response
(Same as code for Deck 6, Kol. 33)

40 Conflict orientation -- Does R.'s answer to the question about what the rich and important people would do stress conflict or conflict avoidance?
(Same as code for Deck 6, Kol. 36)

41 Who were these rich and important people?
0. No answer; not ascertainable
1. Economic elites (e.g. businessmen)
2. Political elite or political leaders
3. Other

42 What is R.'s response when asked the meaning of the word politics?
0. No answer; not ascertainable
1. R. has no conception of politics
2. R. equates politics with government
3. R. equates politics with campaigns and elections or political parties
4. Government and elections
5. Patronage; "wheeling and dealing"
6. R. equates politics with campaigns and elections and with patronage
7. Other

Deck 6

Kol.

43 What is R.'s response when asked the meaning of politics in America?
(Same as previous code)

44 Does R. spontaneously offer, in response to Q. 34 or Q. 35 the evaluation that politics is good or bad?
Note: Do not count as a spontaneous evaluation a response to a question in which the interviewer uses the words good or bad.
0. No answer; not ascertainable
1. R. has no conception or an incorrect conception of politics
2. The evaluation that politics is good is spontaneously offered
3. The evaluation that politics is bad is spontaneously offered

45 Is politics a pretty good or a pretty bad thing?

0. No answer; not ascertainable
1. R. has no conception or an incorrect conception of politics
2. Politics is a pretty good thing---it's how we select our leaders
3. Politics is a pretty good thing--it's how we run the government
4. Politics is a pretty good thing--other response or response not specified further
5. Politics is a pretty bad thing--corruption
6. Politics is a pretty bad thing--other reasons cited or response not specified further
7. Ambivalent response; "it depends"

46-72 Themes mentioned in discussing politics

The procedures used here are similar to the procedures used in the nation section of the codebook. Here, however, the Government Master Code is used.

First, mark all separate comments made in response to the questions about politics with a parenthesis (). Code each separate thought as a separate response.

Second, using the following subscript system, mark each response accordingly:

0 = Neutral reference to American politics
1 = Positive reference to American politics
2 = Negative reference to American politics
3 = Positive reference to politics in some other country
4 = Negative reference to politics in some other country
5 = Neutral reference to politics in some other country

When in doubt, assume the reference is to American politics rather than to politics in some other country. Code as positive references only comments which explicitly use the words "good, better, I like . . ." Code as negative comments which explicitly use the words "bad, worse, I don't like . . ." All themes mentioned in response to Q. 36 should be positive or negative comments.

Third, use the Government Master Code to fill in the second and third digits of the three digit field.

Code the first nine responses in Kol. 46-72. All responses over nine should be written in at the bottom of the code sheet under the heading "Politics."

73-74 Total number of neutral references to politics in America coded (include those at the bottom of the code sheet).

75-76 Total number of positive references to politics in America coded (include those at the bottom of the code sheet).

77-78 Total number of negative references to politics in America coded (include those at the bottom of the code sheet).

79-80 Total number of references to politics in America coded (Sum of previous three codes).

Government section -- See pages of the interview protocol marked G in the upper right hand corner of the page.

The procedures used here are similar to the procedures used in the preceding section with one exception.

First, mark all of the responses in the Government section with parentheses ( ). Code each separate thought as a separate response.

Second, mark, in the left hand margin, each response according to the following scheme:

G = Reference to government in general
F = Reference to the functions of government (Code as F only R.'s responses to the Q. "What kinds of things does the government do?" and subsequent probes.)
R = Reference to the reasons for government (Code as R only the respondent's responses to the Q.'s "Why do we have a government?" and "Is government necessary?" and subsequent probes.)
AG = General reference to the American government
D = Reference to the differences between the American government and other governments
S = Reference to the similarity between the American government and other governments
C = Reference to aspects of the American government that should be changed (Code as C only R.'s responses to the question "How should the American government be changed?" and subsequent probes.)

Third, using the following subscript system, mark each response accordingly:

0 - Neutral reference to American government
1 - Positive reference to American government
2 - Negative reference to American government
3 - Positive reference to some other government
4 - Negative reference to some other government
5 - Neutral reference to some other government

When in doubt, assume that the reference is to the American government. This applies even when coding the G, F, and R sections. Code as positive references only statement which explicitly use the words "good, better, I like . . ." Code as negative references only statements which explicitly use the words "bad, worse, I don't like . . ." All responses to the question "How do you think the American government should be changed?" should involve negative comments.

Fourth, use the Government Master Code to fill in the second and third digits of the three digit field. Code the responses in the following Kols.

Deck 7

Kol.	
1-7	Copy from Kol. 1-7, Deck 1, changing only the deck number (07) in Kol. 3-4.
8-37	Code the first ten general government responses. (All responses over ten should be written in at the bottom of the code sheet under the heading "General Government.")
38-52	Code the first five functions responses. (All responses over five should be written in at the bottom of the code sheet under the heading "functions.")
53-67	Code the first five reasons responses. (All responses over five should be written in at the bottom of the code sheet under the heading "reasons.")
68-69	Record the total number of general government responses coded (include those at the bottom of the code sheet).
70-71	Record the total number of functions coded (include those at the bottom of the code sheet).
72-73	Record the total number of reasons coded (include those at the bottom of the code sheet).

Deck 8

Kol.	
1-7	Copy from Kol. 1-7, Deck 1, changing only the deck number (08) in Kol. 3-4.
8-67	Code the first twenty American Government responses. (All responses over twenty should be written in at the bottom of the code sheet under the heading "American Government.")

68-69 Recored the total number of American government responses coded (include those at the bottom of the code sheet).

70-71 Record the total number of differences between the American government and other governments coded in Deck 9 (include those at the bottom of code sheet 9).

72-73 Record the total number of similarities between the American government and other governments (include those at the bottom of code sheet 9) coded in Deck 9.

Deck 8

Kol.

74-75 Record the total number of change responses coded in Deck 9 (include those at the bottom of Code sheet 9).

76-77 Record the summed total of all G's, F's, R's, AG's, D's, S's, and C's coded (include those at the bottom of the code sheets).

Deck 9

Kol.

1-7 Copy from Kol. 1-7, Deck 1, changing only the deck number (09) in Kol. 3-4.

8-25 Code the first six differences responses. (All responses over six should be written in at the bottom of the code sheet under the heading "differences.")

26-31 Code the first two similarities responses. (All responses over two should be written in at the bottom of the code sheet under the heading "Similiarities.")

32-46 Code the first five changes responses. (All responses over five should be written in at the bottom of the code sheet under the heading "changes.")

47 Did R. answer the general government questions in terms of the American government?

0. No response, not ascertainable
1. Yes, completely
2. Yes, partially
3. No

48 When asked, "What can you tell me about the American government?", did R. spontaneously offer an evaluation? (For the definition of a spontaneous evaluation, see Deck 2, Kol. 39.)

0. No response; not ascertainable
1. Evaluation offered--the American government is better
2. Evaluation offered--the American government is worse
3. No evaluation offered

49 When asked, "How is the American government different from other governments?", did R. spontaneously offer an evaluation?
(Same as previous code.)

Deck 9

Kol.

50 When asked, "Is the American government different from other governments?", what was R.'s response? (See the note in Deck 2, Kol. 38 for the definition of a "qualified response.")
0. No response; not ascertainable
1. Unqualified yes
2. Oualified yes
3. It depends
4. Qualified no
5. Unqualified no

51 "Is the American government a pretty good government or a pretty bad government?" (Code as "Is the American government a pretty good government?" and use the same code as in the previous question.)

52 "Is the American government better or worse than other governments?" (Code as "Is the American government better than other governments?" and use the same code as in the previous question.)

53 "Can the American government be changed?" (Use the same code as in the previous question.)

54 "How (By what procedures) can the American government be changed?" -- 1st response
0. No response; not ascertainable; don't know
1. Meaningless or confused response
2. Changed through the electoral process
3. Act through authorities to change it (e.g. write your Congressman)
4. Organize a group to effect change
5. Protest and demonstrate to effect change
6. Resort to violence and riots to effect change
7. Other

55 "How can the government be changed?" -- 2nd response (Same as previous code)

56 "How can the government be changed?" -- 3rd response (Same as previous code)

57 "How can the government be changed?" -- 4th response (Same as previous code)

58 Do R.'s responses to the question about changing the American government show that he favors minor or major changes?

0. No response; not ascertainable; don't know
1. Favors minor or ameliorative change in system
2. Favors major or radical change in system
3. Favors no change in system

Deck 9

Kol.

55-58 Scope of government questions. Does _____ work for the government? (Code the eleven questions according to the following code. The correct responses are listed next to each occupation below.)

0. No response; not ascertainable; don't know
1. Incorrect response
2. Correct response
3. Ambivalent response; "it depends"

59 Soldier -- YES

60 Teacher -- YES

61 Milkman -- NO

62 Congressman -- YES

63 Truck Driver -- NO

64 Policeman -- YES

65 Baseball Player -- NO

66 Mayor -- YES

67 Doctor -- NO

68 President -- YES

69 Mailman -- YES

70 "Who has the most power, people who work for the government or other people?"

0. No response; not ascertainable
1. People who work for the government
2. Other people--general response
3. Other people--because the people control the government
4. Other people--a secret cabal controls the government
5. Ambivalent response; "it depends"

71 "Is it better for the government to have the most power or for other people to have the most power?"

0. No response; not ascertainable
1. The government
2. Other people
3. Ambivalent response; "it depends"

72 "Does anyone have power over the government?"

0. No response; not ascertainable
1. Yes--general
2. Yes--the government is legitimately controlled by the people
3. Yes--a cabal controls the government
4. No
5. Ambivalent response; "it depends"

Deck 10

Kol.

PRESIDENCY SECTION -- (PR) -- See pages marked PR in the upper right hand corner of the interview protocol.

1-7 Copy from Deck 1, Kol. 1-7, changing only the deck number (10 in Kol. 3-4).

8 When asked about the word "authority," does R. have any conception of its meaning?

0. No response; not ascertainable
1. No conception or incorrect conception of authority
2. General conception correct--social or political authorities not mentioned (e.g. "they're experts")
3. Authority means leaders or rulers
4. Authority means system of social relationships
5. Other correct social or political conception

9 When asked about the word "leaders," does R. have any conception of its meaning?

0. No response; not ascertainable
1. No conception or incorrect conception of leaders
2. General conception correct--social or political leaders not mentioned ("like boy scout leaders")
3. Correct conception--social or political leaders mentioned

10 Persons R. thinks of when he hears the term leaders

0. No response; not ascertainable
1. No social or political leaders mentioned
2. R. mentions the Presidents but no other social or political leaders
3. R. mentions other social or political leaders but not the President
4. President and other social or political leaders mentioned

11 When asked about the meaning of the word leaders and about the leaders of our country, does R. spontaneously offer an evaluation in either case? (For the definition of a spontaneous evaluation, see Deck 2, Kol. 39.)

0. No response; not ascertainable
1. Evaluation offered--leaders are good
2. Evaluation offered--leaders are bad
3. No evaluation offered

12 Characteristics of the kind of people who become leaders--1st response

0. No response; not ascertainable
1. Knowledgeable people--smart, intelligent, well-informed
2. Competent people--dependable, experienced
3. Hard-working people--those who try hardest
4. Powerful people--important, punitive, strong
5. Benevolent people--kind, caring, helpful, good to people
6. Ethical--honest, moral, good men
7. Wealthy--rich
8. Common--average, ordinary
9. Other--R. mentions other characteristics (Circle the response on the interview protocol.)

13 Characteristics of the kind of people who become leaders--2nd response
(Same as previous code)

14 Characteristics of the kind of people who become leaders--3rd response
(Same as previous code)

15 Characteristics of the kind of people who become leaders--4th response
(Same as previous code)

16 Limits on the power of leaders

0. No response; not ascertainable
1. No limits--they can do anything they want
2. Some limits--childish response (e.g. "they can't bake a cake")
3. Some limits--physical limits or limits set by nature
4. Some limits--legal or constitutional limits
5. Some limits--power of other individuals, groups, or institutions limit them
6. Some limits--other response
7. Ambivalent response; "it depends"

17 Desirability of limiting the power of leaders

0. No response; not ascertainable
1. Leaders should be able to do whatever they want--it's more efficient
2. Leaders should be able to do whatever they want--social harmony response ("it saves fighting among the people")
3. Leaders should be able to do whatever they want--other response or no further elaboration
4. There should be limits--democracy response or freedom of the people response
5. There should be limits--other response or no further elaboration
6. Ambivalent response; "it depends"

Deck 10

Kol.

18 Do leaders have to obey laws? (For the definition of a qualified response; see Deck 2, Kol. 38.)

0. No response; not ascertainable
1. Unqualified yes
2. Qualified yes
3. Ambivalent response; "it depends"
4. Qualified no
5. Unqualified no

19 Should leaders have to obey laws?

0. No response; not ascertainable
1. No, because of their position ("they're the boss")
2. no, because they make the laws
3. No--other response or no further elaboration
4. Yes--R. mentions legal or constitutional limits on power
5. Yes, they're just like other people
6. Yes, they have to set an example for the rest of the people
7. Yes--other response
8. Ambivalent response, "it depends"

20 Knowledge of President's name
- 0. No response; not ascertainable
- 1. Incorrect answer given
- 2. Richard Nixon correctly identified

21 Knowledge of how Presidents are chosen
- 0. No response; not ascertainable
- 1. No mention of elections or voting
- 2. Elections or voting mentioned

22 Conception of electoral process
- 0. No response; not ascertainable
- 1. R.'s conception of the electoral process is totally inaccurate
- 2. R. mentions only the mechanics of voting (e.g. "voting machines," "write the names on a ballot")
- 3. R. discusses electoral process in terms of majority rule conception
- 4. Other response

23 Does R. mention the electoral college in discussing Presidential elections?
- 0. No response; not ascertainable
- 1. Electoral College <u>not</u> mentioned
- 2. Electoral College mentioned

<u>Deck 10</u>

<u>Kol.</u>

24 Evaluation of elections as a means of choosing leaders--1st response
- 0. No response; no further response; not ascertainable
- 1. Elections are good--they produce the best person
- 2. Elections are good--majority rule response or popular democracy response
- 3. Elections are good--fairness response
- 4. Elections are good--other response or not further specified
- 5. Elections are not good--they don't produce the best person
- 6. Elections are not good--they produce division in society
- 7. Elections are not good--weaknesses of the Electoral College
- 8. Elections are not good--other response or not further specified
- 9. Ambivalent response; "it depends"

25 Evaluation of elections as a means of choosing leaders--2nd response
(Same as previous code)

26 Evaluation of elections as a means of choosing leaders--3rd response
(Same as previous code)

27 Evaluation of elections as a means of choosing leaders--4th response
(Same as previous code)

28 Evaluation of elections as a means of choosing leaders--5th response
(Same as previous code)

29 Are there better ways of choosing leaders than elections?
0. No response; not ascertainable
1. No better ways--elections are the best
2. R. supports minor changes in our system (e.g. abolish the Electoral College)
3. R. suggests major changes or a system other than elections

30 Does the President care about ordinary people?--1st response
0. No response; not ascertainable
1. No, he's too busy to bother about ordinary people
2. No, he is an uncaring person
3. No--other response or not further specified
4. Yes, he is a caring person
5. Yes, that's his job
6. Yes, other response or not further specified
7. Ambivalent response; "it depends"

Deck 10

Kol.

31 Does the President care about ordinary people?--2nd response
(Same as previous code)

32 Does the President care about ordinary people?--3rd response
(Same as previous code)

33 Does the President care about ordinary people?--4th response
(Same as previous code)

34 When asked in the Presidency story what kinds of things the President does in his job, did R. offer a spontaneous evaluation that the President is doing a good or a bad job? (For the definition of a spontaneous evaluation see Deck 2, Kol. 39.)

0. No response; not ascertainable
1. Evaluation offered--President is doing a good job
2. Evaluation offered--President is doing a bad job
3. No evaluation offered

35 Presidency story--Would President listen to the Congressmen? (See Deck 2, Kol. 38 forthe definition of a qualified response.)

0. No response; not ascertainable
1. Unqualified yes
2. Qualified yes
3. Ambivalent response; "it depends"
4. Qualified no
5. Unqualified no

36 Would President do what the Congressmen wanted?--1st response

0. No response; no further response; not ascertainable
1. No--he's the boss, he's too busy
2. No--they're not important people
3. No--other people favor the law
4. No--other reasons or no further elaboration
5. Yes--he is receptive to suggestions
6. Yes--they are important people
7. Yes--other reasons or no further elaboration
8. Yes--because of bias in question wording and sequence (e.g. "He will do what they wanted because this is the second or third group that has complained about this law.") (This code will not be needed in Kols. 36, 37, or 38 but it may be needed in Kols. 40, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46, 48, 49, and 50.)
9. Ambivalent response; "it depends"

37 Would President do what the Congressmen wanted?--2nd response (Same as previous code)

38 Would President do what Congressmen wanted?--3rd response (Same as previous code)

Deck 10

Kol.

39 Would President listen to rich and important businessmen? (Same as code for Deck 10, Kol. 35)

40 Would President do what businessmen wanted?--1st response
(Same as code for Deck 10, Kol. 36)

41 Would President do what businessmen wanted?--2nd response
(Same as previous code)

42 Would President do what businessmen wanted?--3rd response
(Same as previous code)

43 Would President listen to ordinary people?
(Same as code for Deck 10, Kol. 35)

44 Would President do what ordinary people wanted?--1st response
(Same as code for Deck 10, Kol. 36)

45 Would President do what ordinary people wanted?--2nd response
(Same as previous code)

46 Would President do what ordinary people wanted?--3rd response
(Same as previous code)

47 Would President listen to foreign leaders?
(Same as code for Deck 10, Kol. 35)

48 Would President do what foreign leaders wanted?--1st response
(Same as code for Deck 10, Kol. 36)

49 Would President do what foreign leaders wanted?--2nd response
(Same as previous code)

50 Would President do what foreign leaders wanted?--3rd response
(Same as previous code)

51-52 Who would the President listen to most?

00. No response; not ascertainable
01. None of them
02. Congressmen
03. Businessmen
04. Ordinary people
05. Foreign leaders
06. Congressmen and businessmen
07. Congressmen and ordinary people
08. Congressmen and foreign leaders
09. Businessmen and ordinary people
10. Businessmen and foreign leaders
11. Ordinary people and foreign leaders
12. Congressmen, businessmen, and ordinary people
13. Congressmen, ordinary people, and foreign leaders
14. Businessmen, ordinary people, and foreign leaders
15. All of them equally
16. Other response

Deck 10

Kol.

53-54 Who would the President listen to least?
(Same as previous code)

55 Was the President breaking the law by speeding? STORY
0. No response; not ascertainable
1. No--he is above the law
2. No--he makes the law
3. No--R. rationalizes the President's action (e.g. "Maybe he was in a hurry to get to the hospital")
4. No--other reason or not further specified
5. Yes--unspecified or other response
6. Yes--he is subject tothe same laws as everyone
7. Yes--he should set an example for the people
8. Ambivalent response; "it depends"

56 Was it wrong of the President to speed?
(Same as previous code)

57 Would the President get a ticket for speeding?
(Same as previous code)

58 Would he have to pay the fine?
(Same as previous code)

59 Do R.'s responses indicate that the policeman would be deferential to the President?
0. No response; not ascertainable
1. Yes, policeman would be deferential
2. No, policeman would not be deferential

60 Evaluation of most Presidents' performance
0. No response; not ascertainable
1. All Presidents have been good leaders
2. Most Presidents have been good leaders
3. Ambivalent response; "some have, some have not"
4. Most have not been good leaders
5. None have been good leaders

61 Evaluation of President Nixon--Code as "Is President Nixon doing a good job as President?" (For the definition of a qualified response; see Deck 2, Kol. 38.)
0. No response; not ascertainable
1. Unqualified yes
2. Qualified yes
3. Ambivalent response, "it depends"
4. Qualified no
5. Unqualified no

Deck 10

Kol.

62 Evaluation of President Johnson (Code as "Did President Johnson do a good job as President?")
(Same as previous code)

63 Evaluation of President Kennedy (Code as "Did President Kennedy do a good job as President?")
(Same as previous code)

64 Nixon, Johnson, or Kennedy ranked as best President?
0. No response; not ascertainable
1. Nixon ranked best
2. Johnson ranked best
3. Kennedy ranked best
4. Nixon and Johnson ranked best
5. Nixon and Kennedy ranked best
6. Johnson and Kennedy ranked best
7. All the same--good
8. All the same--bad

65 Nixon, Johnson, or Kennedy ranked as worst President?
0. No response; not ascertainable
1. Nixon ranked worst
2. Johnson ranked worst
3. Kennedy ranked worst
4. Nixon and Johnson ranked worst
5. Nixon and Kennedy ranked worst
6. Johnson and Kennedy ranked worst
7. All the same--good
8. All the same--bad

66 Knowledge of Kennedy assassination
0. No response; not ascertainable
1. R. has no knowledge of Kennedy assassination
2. R. knows of Kennedy assassination

67 Knowledge of assassin's name
0. No response; not ascertainable
1. R. does not know or mention assassin's name
2. R. correctly identifies Lee Harvey Oswald as the assassin

68 Reasons for Kennedy assassination
0. No response; not ascertainable
1. R. states that he can think of no reason
2. R. believes that it "was an accident"
3. Assassin was insane
4. R. mentions President Kennedy's social or political views or actions as a reason for the assassination
5. Other response

Deck 10

Kol.

69 Conspiracy View of Kennedy Assassination? Do R.'s responses to the questions indicate that he believes there was a conspiracy involved?

0. No response; not ascertainable
1. No conspiracy, Oswald acted alone
2. Oswald shot him, others paid him
3. Oswald shot him, others helped plan it
4. Other conspiracy response

70 Who was involved in the conspiracy?

0. No response; not ascertainable
1. R. does not believe in conspiracy
2. Oswald and Ruby
3. Communists were behind it (include responses which mention Russians or "left-wingers")
4. Cubans were behind it
5. "Right-wingers" were behind it
6. Anti-black or anti-civil rights forces were behind it
7. Others were behind it--specific group mentioned (Circle the response on the interview protocol.)
8. R. believes that others were behind it but he is not specific as to who he means

71 What should be done to someone who would shoot a President?

0. No response; not ascertainable
1. Nothing should be done
2. Death penalty; trial not mentioned
3. Prison term; trial not mentioned
4. Torture; trial not mentioned
5. Death penalty; trial mentioned
6. Prison term; trial mentioned
7. Torture; trial mentioned
8. Trial mentioned; punishment not mentioned
9. Other response

72 Knowledge of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s assassination?

0. No response; not ascertainable
1. R. has no knowledge or memory of King's assassination
2. R. has knowledge of King's assassination

73 Reasons for King's assassination

0. No response; not ascertainable
1. R. states that he can think of no reason
2. R. believes that it "was an accident"
3. Assassin was insane
4. R. mentions King's social or political views or actions as a reason for the assassination
5. R. mentions the fact that King was black as a reason for the assassination
6. Other response

74 Conspiracy view of King assassination? Do R.'s responses to the questions indicate that he believes there was a conspiracy involved?

0. No response; not ascertainable
1. No conspiracy; Ray acted alone
2. Ray shot him; others paid him
3. Ray shot him; others helped plan it
4. Other conspiracy response

75 Who was involved in conspiracy?

0. No response; not ascertainable
1. R. does not believe in conspiracy
2. Communists were behind it
3. Foreigners were behind it
4. "Right-winters" were behind it
5. Anti-black or anti-civil rights forces were behind it
6. Others were behind it--specific group mentioned (Circle the response on the interview protocol)
7. R. believes that others were behind it but he is not specific as to who he means

76 What happened to King's assassin?

0. No response; not ascertainable
1. He escaped
2. He was put to death; trial not mentioned
3. He was put in jail; trial not mentioned
4. He was tried and put to death
5. He was tried and put in jail
6. He was tried; punishment not mentioned
7. Other response

Deck 11

Kol.

1-7 Copy from Deck 1, Kol. 1-7, changing only the deck number (11 in Kol. 3-4).

Themes mentioned in discussion in the authority-leadership-Presidency section

The procedures used here are similar to the procedures used in preceding sections.

First, read all of the respondent's comments in the Presidency (PR) section of the interview protocol and ascertain which, if any, of the following types of comments they are. Code each thought as a separate response and mark with a parentheses ( ) each of the comments which fit into one of the following categories:

A - Comments about authority or authorities (Code as R only R.'s responses to the question about the meaning of the word "authority.")
L - Comments about leaders (Code as L only R.'s responses to the questions about the meaning of the word "leaders.")
R - Reference to the reasons why we need leaders (Code as R only the respondent's responses to the question "Why do you suppose we have to have leaders?")
P - Reference to Presidents in general (Code as P only those responses to the "Day in the Life of the President" Story.)
E - References which include Evaluations of Presidents in general (except as covered in the following categories.) (Code as E all responses to the question "Why have most of the Presidents been good (or bad) leaders?")
N - References which include evaluations of President Nixon
J - References which include evaluations of President Johnson
K - References which include evaluations of President Kennedy

Second, using the following subscript system, mark each response accordingly:
0 - Neutral comment
1 - Positive comment
2 - Negative comment

Deck 11

Kol.

Code as positive comments only those comments in which the interviewer or respondent has explicitly used the words "good, better, I like . . ." Code as negative comments only those comments in which the interviewer or respondent has explicitly used the words "bad, worse, I don't like. . ." All responses to the questions asking for evaluations of Presidents should be positive or negative comments.

Third, use the Authority-Leadership (A-L) Master Code to fill in the second and third digits of the three digit field. Code the responses in the following Kols.

8-22 Code the first five Authority (A) responses coded. (All responses over five should be written in at the bottom of the code sheet under the heading "Authority.")

23-37 Code the first five Leader (L) responses. (All responses over five should be written in at the bottom of the code sheet under the heading "Leader.")

38-52 Code the first five reasons for leaders (R) coded. (All responses over five should be written in at the bottom of the code sheet under the heading "Reasons.")

53-70 Code the first six Evaluations of Presidents (E) coded. (All responses over six should be written in at the bottom of the code sheet under the heading "Evaluations.")

71-72 Record the total number of Authority responses (A) coded (include those at the bottom of the code sheet).

73-74 Record the total number of Leader responses (L) coded (include those at the bottom of the code sheet).

75-76 Record the total number of Reasons for Leaders (R) coded (include those at the bottom of the code sheet).

77-78 Record the total number of Evaluations of Presidents (E) coded (include those at the bottom of the code sheet).

Deck 12

Kol.

1-7 Copy from Deck 1, Kol. 1-7, changing only the deck number (12 in Kol. 3-4).

8-67 Code the first twenty President (P) responses coded (All responses over twenty should be written in at the bottom of the code sheet under the heading "President.")

68-69 Record the total number of President (P) responses coded (include those at the bottom of the code sheet).

Deck 13

Kol.

1-7 Copy from Deck 1, Kol. 1-7, changing only the deck number (13 in Kol. 3-4).

8-37 Code the first ten Evaluations of Nixon (N) coded. (All responses over ten should be written in at the bottom of the code sheet under the heading "Nixon.")

38-52 Code the first five Evaluations of Johnson (J) coded. (All responses over five should be written in at the bottom of the code sheet under the heading "Johnson.")

53-67 Code the first five Evaluations of Kennedy (K) coded. (All responses over five should be written in at the bottom of the code sheet under the heading "Kennedy.")

68-69 Record the total number of Evaluations of Nixon (N) coded, (include those at the bottom of the code sheet).

70-71 Record the total number of Evaluations of Johnson (J) coded (include those at the bottom of the code sheet).

72-73 Record the total number of Evaluations of Kennedy (K) coded (include those at the bottom of the code sheet).

74-75 Record the summed total of all A's, L's, R's, P's, E's, N's, J's, and K's coded in this section (include those at the bottom of the code sheets.

Deck 14

Kol.

LAWS SECTION (L) --See pages marked L in the upper right hand corner of the interview protocol.

1-7 Copy from Deck 1, Kol. 1-7, changing only the deck number (14 in Kol. 3-4).

8-17 Meaning of rules--In Kols. 8-17, code the first five responses that R. makes in discussing the meaning of rules. Use the Law Master Code for coding these responses. In this section, responses will not be coded as positive or negative. Only the two digit master code should be used. (Code all responses over five at the bottom of the code sheet under the heading "meaning of rules.")

18 Source of rules--1st response

0. No response; not ascertainable
1. God makes rules
2. Nobody makes them; they're just there
3. Non-political authorities make rules
4. Political authorities make rules
5. Representative bodies make rules (e.g.Congress)
6. The people make rules through representative bodies
7. The people make rules (e.g. "Rules are just what the people want" "rules are just social conventions")
8. Other response

19 Source of rules--2nd response
(Same as previous code)

20 Source of rules--3rd response
(Same as previous code)

21-30 Reasons for rules--Code the first five responses using the Law Master Code. (Code all responses over five at the bottom of the code sheet under the heading "reasons for rules.")

31-40 Meaning of laws--Code the first five responses using the Law Master Code. (Code all responses over five at the bottom of the code sheet under the heading "meaning of laws.")

41 Difference between rules and laws

0. No response; not ascertainable
1. R. answers in terms of the severity of punishment involved in disobedience
2. R. answers in terms of the source of each
3. R. answers in terms of the scope of applicability of each
4. R. answers in terms of the "importance" of each
5. R. answers in terms of the consequences or purpose of each
6. Other response

Deck 14

Kol.

42 Which is worse, to break a rule of law?

0. No response; not ascertainable
1. A rule--because it is more immediate and personal to the respondent
2. A rule--since some laws are not enforced
3. A rule--other reason or not further specified
4. A law--the punishment is more severe
5. A law--the source of the law is more important
6. A law--the social significance is greater
7. A law--other reason or not further specified
8. Ambivalent response; "it depends"

43 Do people <u>have</u> to obey laws? (For the definition of a "qualified" response, see Deck 2, Kol. 38.)

0. No response; not ascertainable
1. Unqualified yes
2. Qualified yes
3. Ambivalent response; "it depends"
4. Qualified no
5. Unqualified no

44 <u>Should</u> people obey laws?
(Same as previous code)

45-46 <u>Reasons for obedience to laws</u>--1st response

00. No response; no further response; not ascertainable; not applicable
01. You just have to obey; you're supposed to obey
02. It's right to obey; it's good to obey; it's bad to disobey
03. To avoid getting into trouble
04. To avoid getting hurt
05. To avoid punishment
06. Because authorities make the laws
07. You must conform to standards set by authorities
08. You must conform to standards set by society or the people
09. Because rules are designed to help and protect people
10. To prevent chaos
11. To be fair to other people who have to obey the laws
12. Example effect--it you disobey, others will also
13. It's for the good of society
14. You have to do what your conscience or a set of principles says to do
15. Other response (Circle the response on the interview protocol.)

<u>Deck 14</u>

<u>Kol.</u>

47-48 Reasons for obedience to laws--2nd response
(Same as previous code)

49-50 Reasons for obedience to laws--3rd response
(Same as previous code)

51-52 Reasons for obedience to laws--4th response
(Same as previous code)

53-54 Reasons for obedience to laws--5th response
(Same as previous code)

55 Is anyone exempt from obedience to laws? (For the definition of a qualified response, see Deck 2, Kol. 38.)

0. No response; not ascertainable
1. Unqualified yes
2. Qualified yes
3. Ambivalent response; "it depends"
4. Qualified no
5. Unqualified no

56 Reasons for exemption--1st response

0. No response; no further response; not ascertainable
1. R. does not believe that anyone is exempt
2. People not affected by the law are exempt
3. Some people can break laws and escape punishment
4. Authorities are exempt because of their position
5. Authorities are exempt because they make the laws
6. People are exempt if obedience to the law violates their moral principles
7. Other response (Circle the response on the interview protocol.)

57 Reasons for exemption--2nd response
(Same as previous code)

58 Reasons for exemption--3rd response
(Same as previous code)

59 Consequences for people who disobey laws

0. No response; not ascertainable
1. Nothing happens to them
2. They are punished
3. They are punished if caught
4. They are given a trial and punished
5. They are given a trial and, if found guilty, they are punished
6. Other response

Deck 14

Kol.

60 Results if nobody obeys the laws--1st response

0. No response; not ascertainable
1. They'd all be doing wrong
2. They'd all be punished
3. There would be chaos
4. The laws would be changed
5. Other response

61 Results if nobody obeys the laws--2nd response
(Same as previous code)

62 Results if nobody obeys the laws--3rd response
(Same as previous code)

63 Sources of laws--1st response

0. No response; not ascertainable
1. God makes laws
2. They were always there; they're just there
3. Someone a long time ago made them up
4. Political leaders make laws (e.g. the President, Senators)
5. Congress or other institutions make laws
6. Policemen or judges make laws
7. Other non-political leaders make laws
8. The people make laws
9. Other response (Circle the response on the interview protocol.)

64 Sources of laws--2nd response
(Same as previous code)

65 Sources of laws--3rd response
(Same as previous code)

66 Can laws be changed? (For a definition of a qualified response, see Deck 2, Kol. 38.)

0. No response; not ascertainable
1. Unqualified yes
2. Qualified yes
3. Ambivalent response; "it depends"
4. Qualified no
5. Unqualified no

67 Reasons laws can be changed--1st response

0. No response; no further response; not ascertainable; not applicable
1. The leaders want to change them
2. They're made by bad leaders
3. They're bad laws
4. They promote bad acts or prevent good acts
5. They are unfair or unjust
6. The people don't like them
7. They serve no useful purpose
8. Circumstances change
9. Other reason (Circle the response on the interview protocol.)

68 Reasons laws can be changed--2nd response
(Same as previous code)

Deck 14

Kol.

69 Reasons laws can be changed--3rd response
(Same as previous code)

70 Reasons why laws cannot be changed--1st response
0. No response; no further response; not ascertainable; not applicable
1. R. believes that laws are fixed, permanent, or quasi-permanent things
2. It's too difficult to change them
3. There would be chaos if you changed them
4. It wouldn't be fair to change them
5. Othe response (Circle the response on the interview protocol.)

71 Reasons why laws cannot be changed--2nd response
(Same as previous code)

72 Reasons why laws cannot be changed--3rd response
(Same as previous code)

73 Who can change laws?--1st response

74 Who can change laws?--2nd response
(Same as previous code)

75 Who can change laws?--3rd response
(Same as previous code)

76 How are laws changed?
0. No response; not ascertainable
1. R. makes no mention of legislative or amendment process (e.g. "they just make new ones")
2. R. mentions legislative or amendment process

Deck 15

Kol.

1-7 Copy from Deck 1, Kol. 1-7, changing only the deck number (15 in Kol. 3-4).

8-17 Reasons for laws--Code the first five responses using the Law Master Code. (Code all responses over five at the bottom of the code sheet under the heading "reasons for laws.")

18 Do most people obey laws most of the time? (For a definition of a qualified response, see Deck 2, Kol. 38.)

0. No response
1. Unqualified yes
2. Qualified yes
3. Ambivalent response; "it depends"
4. Qualified no
5. Unqualified no

19-20 Reasons why most people obey--1st response (Same as code for Deck 14, Kol. 45-46)

21-22 Reasons why most people obey--2nd response (Same as previous code)

23-24 Reasons why most people obey--3rd response (Same as previous code)

25 Reasons why most people don't obey--1st response

0. No response; no further response; not ascertainable; not applicable
1. People are just bad
2. They think they can avoid punishment
3. Other response (Circle the response on the interview protocol.)

26 Reasons why most people don't obey--2nd response (Same as previous code)

27 Punishment or obligation conception of obedience

0. No response; not ascertainable
1. People obey because of punishment
2. People obey because it is right
3. People obey for both reasons
4. Ambivalent response; "it depends"

28 Rationale for punishment--1st response (See also R.'s comments in response to the question "Why is it a good idea to punish people?" and code those comments here and in the next four Kols.)

0. No response; no further response; not ascertainable
1. Restriction--"so they won't be able to do it again," "if you put them in jail, they won't be able to rob people."
3. Reform--rehabilitation, "so they will be taught not to do it again"
4. Example--"to set an example for others so they won't disobey laws" include "deterrent" response
5. Othe response (Circle the response on the interview protocol.)

Deck 15

Kol.

29 Rationale for punishment--2nd response
(Same as previous code)

30 Rationale for punishment--3rd response
(Same as previous code)

31 Rationale for punishment--4th response
(Same as previous code)

32 Rationale for punishment--5th response
(Same as previous code)

33 Is it a good idea to punish people? (For a definition of a qualified response, see Deck 2, Kol. 38.)
0. No response; not ascertainable
1. Unqualified yes
2. Qualified yes
3. Ambivalent response
4. Qualified no
5. Unqualified response

34 Level of strictness of punishment. In response to the questions on punishment, does R. indicate the level of strictness he favors?
0. No response; not ascertainable
1. Punishment should be strict
2. Punishment should be lenient
3. Punishment should be appropriate to the misdeed

35 Inevitability of punishment
0. No response; not ascertainable
1. Lawbreakers are always caught and punished
2. Lawbreakers are usually caught and punished
3. Ambivalent response; "it depends"
4. Lawbreakers are seldom caught and punished
5. Lawbreakers are never caught and punished

36 In response to the questions on rules, did R. spontaneously offer an evaluation that rules are good or bad? (For a definition of a spontaneous evaluation, see Deck 2, Kol. 39.)
0. No response; not ascertainable
1. Evaluation offered--rules are good
2. Evaluation offered--rules are bad
3. No evaluation offered

37 In response to the questions on laws, did R. spontaneously offer an evaluation that laws are good or bad?
0. No response; not ascertainable
1. Evaluation offered--laws are good
2. Evaluation offered--laws are bad
3. No evaluation offered

38 Is it ever right to disobey laws? (For a definition of a qualified response, see Deck 2, Kol. 38.)

0. No response; not ascertainable
1. Unqualified yes
2. Qualified yes
3. Ambivalent response; "it depends"
4. Qualified no
5. Unqualified no

39-40 Reasons why disobedience is never right--1st response (Same as code for Deck 14, Kols. 45-46)

41-42 Reasons why disobedience is never right--2nd response (Same as previous code)

43-44 Reasons why disobedience is never right--3rd response (Same as previous code)

45 Reasons why disobedience may be right--1st response

0. No response; no further response; not ascertainable; not applicable
1. It's a minor law
2. It's a bad law
3. It's an unfair law
4. Circumstances have changed and law is outdated
5. Circumstances permit disobedience (e.g."it's a matter of life or death to get to hospital")
6. Law is immoral, unjust, or violates person's conscience
7. Other response (Circle the response on the interview protocol.)

46 Reasons why disobedience may be right--2nd response (Same as previous code)

47 Reasons why disobedience may be right--3rd response (Same as previous code)

48 Goodness of laws (Code as: "Are all laws good laws?")

0. No response; not ascertainable
1. Unqualified yes
2. Qualified yes
3. Ambivalent; don't know
4. Qualified no
5. Unqualified no

49 Reasons why most laws are good--1st response

0. No response; no further response; not ascertainable; not applicable
1. R. responds in terms of the lawmakers, their qualities, or intentions (e.g. "they wouldn't make bad laws")
2. R. responds in terms of the process by which laws are made (e.g. "they're made in a fair and democratic way")
3. R. responds in terms of the laws themselves (e.g. "the laws are fair to everyone")

Deck 15

Kol.

49

4. R. responds in terms of the consequences of the laws (e.g. "they insure the safety of the people")
5. R. responds in terms of public reaction to the laws (e.g. "they must be good or people would be all upset")
6. Other response (Circle the response on the interview protocol.)

50 Reasons why most laws are good--2nd response (Same as previous code)

51 Reasons why most laws are good-3rd response (Same as previous code)

52 Reasons why most laws are not good--1st response (Same as previous code)

53 Reasons why most laws are not good--2nd response (Same as previous code)

54 Reasons why most laws are not good--3rd response (Same as previous code)

55 Are all laws fair laws? (For the definition of a qualified response, see Deck 2, Kol. 38.)

0. No response; not ascertainable
1. Unqualified yes
2. Qualified yes
3. Ambivalent response; "it depends"
4. Qualified no
5. Unqualified no

56 Reasons why most laws are fair--1st response (Same as code for Deck 15, Kol. 49.)

57 Reasons why most laws are fair--2nd response (Same as previous code)

58 Reasons why most laws are fair--3rd response (Same as previous code)

59 Reasons why most laws are not fair--1st response (Same as previous code)

60 Reasons why most laws are not fiar--2nd response (Same as previous code)

61 Reasons why most laws are not fair--3rd response
(Same as previous code)

62 Is it permissible to disobey a bad, or unfair law?
(For the definition of a qualified response, see Deck 2, Kol. 38.)

0. No response; not ascertainable
1. Unqualified yes
2. Qualified yes
3. Ambivalent response, "it depends"
4. Qualified no
5. Unqualified no

63 Reasons why disobedience of a bad or unfair law is right--1st response
(Same as code for Deck 15, Kol. 45)

64 Reasons why disobedience of a bad or unfair law is right--2nd response
(Same as previous code)

65 Reasons why disobedience of a bad or unfair law is right--3rd response
(Same as previous code)

66-67 Reasons why disobedience of a bad or unfair law is not right--1st response
(Same as code for Deck 14, Kols. 45-46)

68-69 Reasons why disobedience of a bad or unfair law is not right--2nd response (Same as previous code)

70-71 Reasons why disobedience of a bad or unfair law is not right--3rd response
(Same as previous code)

72 Are civil disobedients obligated to accept punishment?
(For the definition of a qualified response, see Deck 2, Kol. 38.)

0. No response; not ascertainable
1. Unqualfied yes
2. Qualified yes
3. Ambivalent response; "it depends"
4. Qualified no
5. Unqualified no

73 Is R.'s response to the question on the obligation of civil disobedients to accept punishment based on moral principles?

0. No response; not ascertainable
1. No, not based on moral principles
2. Yes, based on moral principles

Deck 16

Kol.

1-7 Copy from Deck 1, Kol. 1-7, changing only the deck number (16 in Kol. 3-4).

Themes mentioned in evaluating laws

Code the themes mentioned by the respondent in evaluating laws in three digit fields according to the following insturctions.

First, read all of R.'s comments made in response to the questions "Why do (don't) you think all laws are good laws?" and "Why do (don't) you think all laws are fair laws?" Code each thought as a separate response and mark each response with a parentheses ( ).

Second, using the following subscript system, mark each response accordingly:

0 - Neutral comment
1 - Positive comment
2 - Negative comment

All responses to these questions should probably be positive or negative.

Third, use the law master code to fill in the second and third digits of the three digit code. Code the responses in the following Kols.

8-52 Code the first fifteen evaluative comments about law mentioned by the respondent. (All responses over fifteen should be written in at the bottom of the code sheet under the heading "evaluations of law.")

53-54 Record the total number of evaluations of law coded (include those at the bottom of the code sheet).

55-56 Record the total number of responses coded under the meaning of rules section (Deck 14, Kol. 8-17) (include those at the bottom of the code sheet).

57-58 Record the total number of responses coded under the reasons for rules section (Deck 14, Kol. 21-30) (include those at the bottom of the code sheet).

59-60 Record the total number of responses coded under the meaning of laws section (Deck 14, Kol. 31-40) (include those at the bottom of the code sheet).

61-62 Record the total number of responses coded under the reasons for laws section (Deck 15, Kol. 8-17) (include those at the bottom of the code sheet).

63-64 Record the summed total of the responses coded under the evaluations of laws, meaning of rules, reasons for rules, meaning of laws, and reasons for laws sections (the numbers recorded in the five previous coded).

APPENDIX C. NATION-NATIONALITY MASTER CODE

PERSONALISTIC RESPONSES

10. Personal activities of Respondent mentioned - R. answers the Q.'s about America and Americans in terms of his own personal activities. (e.g. playing,watching television, visiting Niagara Falls, etc.)

11. R. mentions his Family - includes all references to home life.

12. R. mentions his friends.

13. Reference to nation as home or birthplace - (I was born here. He lives in Germany. A person is an American if they live here.) /Do not confuse with 14 or 33./

14. Reference to nation as place chosen for home - (I choose to live in America. A person is an American if they decide to live here.) /Do not confuse with 13 or 33./

15. Response in terms of R.'s ethnic or racial group - Reference to Negroes or blacks by blacks or ethnic groups by whites.

16. Response in terms of R.'s information or knowledge - including desire to expand information limits. (The U.S. is all I know. I'd like to find out about Germany.)

PHYSICAL, MATERIAL

20. Natural environment - scenery, climate, trees, flowers, etc.

21. Man-made environment - building, houses, roads, cities (where cities clearly refers to the physicial aspects of cities), etc.

22. Material goods -- toys, t.v. sets, etc.

SYMBOLIC, HISTORICAL

30. Mentions national symbols - (flag, songs, statues, pledges, etc.)

31. Mentions historical events - (e.g. Revolutionary War)

32. Mentions historical persons - (e.g. George Washington)

GEOGRAPHIC

33. R. mentions nation as a place to live - (e.g. "America is just a place to live.") /Do not confuse this with 13 or 14./

34. R. mentions the term nation or country - America is a nation or country.

35. R. mentions the nation as a collection of cities or states - The U.S. is fifty (or 76 or 100) states. "It's just a bunch of cities."

36. R. mentions specific cities or states - /Use only twice if R. mentions a long series of cities or states./

38. Reference to the size of the nation or its population - (e.g. America is a big country. India has a lot of people).

PEOPLE AND POPULATION

40. People in general - The human race (e.g. I like people).

41. The people of a nation - general (I like American people).

42. Subgroups of people - unspecified (e.g. most or some people).

43. Subgroups of people - specific (e.g. students, rich people, Negroes, whites). /Circle the subgroup mentioned./

44. R. mentions physical characteristics of people - eyes, hair color, etc.

45. R. mentions personality characteristics of people - people in general or the people of a nation (e.g. people are nice. Americans are mean.) /Including all "human nature" responses, such as "people are people."/

46. R. mentions personality characteristics of some people - (some people are nice, mean, etc.)

47. Heterogeneity of population response - (e.g. All countries have many different kinds of people, many races, etc.)

ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, CULTURAL

50. Social Institutions and Processes - general and other specific.

51. Social Mobility - (e.g. In U.S., you have a chance to get ahead).

52. Habits and Customs of the people - (clothes, food, manners, language, etc.)

53. Beliefs of the people - general

56. Religious factors - (e.g. Churches, religious beliefs, etc.)

57. Intellectual factors - (e.g. The quality of the books, movies.)

58. Education - (including schools.)

59. Social Cohesion - (unity of people, domestic peace and tranquility.)

23. Economic system - general (including "free enterprise," "the state of the economy," "inflation," etc.)

24. Wealth of the nation or its people.

26. Economic opportunities - jobs.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS

60. Social Problems or Social Conflict - general.

61. Race riots - (including racial disturbances.)

62. Student riots - (including student disturbances.)

63. Discrimination - lack of equal opportunities.

64. Slums or ghettoes.

65. Pollution - (including litter, dirty streets.)

66. War - general /Exclude all references to Vietnam, which is coded 87./

67. Crime.

69. Social problems - other specific. /Circle the response on the interview protocol./

25. Poverty.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT: AUTHORITIES, INSTITUTIONS AND PROCESSES

70. Politics or Government - general or other specific

71. R. mentions the President.

72. Reference to political leaders - general.

73. Reference to political leaders - specific /Circle the response./

74. Reference to other authority figures - (e.g. teachers, principals, police.)

75. Reference to Political Institutions - general or specific (e.g. Congress, courts, Cabinet, political parties.)

76. Reference to Political Processes - (e.g. elections, voting, the decision-making process, the way they decide things, etc.)

28. Strength of America - military (including all references to armed forces.)

54. Beliefs of the people - general political.

55. Beliefs of the people - patriotism.

PUBLIC POLICY

80. Domestic policy - general.

81. Economic policy - (including Poverty Program and Welfare.)

82. Civil Rights policy - (including government policy on riots.)

83. Draft policy.

84. Space Program.

85. Domestic policy - other specific./Circle the response./

86. Foreign policy - general.

87. Vietnam policy.

88. Foreign aid policy.

89. Foreign policy - other specific. /Circle the response/

77. Reference to Rules and Laws of the nation.

78. Reference to Taxes.

POLITICAL VALUES

90. Freedom - general (including "liberty," "you can do what you want.")

91. Freedom of speech, press, religion, assembly.

92. Freedom of mobility - (You can go where you want.)

93. Equality.

94. Justice and/or Fairness.

95. Democracy - general (including participation of the people responses; popular rule responses; majority rule responses; consent of the governed response.)

96. Rights of the Citizens responses - (Including "due process," "the rights of suspects," etc.)

97. Ideology response - R. mentions Communism, Socialism, Liberalism, Conservatism, etc.

98. Form of Government response - Dictatorship, totalitarian form of government, republic, etc.

79. Constitution, Bill of Rights - including all political documents.

OTHER

00. No response - No further response; I don't know. /Do not use this code except to fill in the blanks after all meaningful responses have been coded./

01. Undifferentiated response - "The whole thing," "it" (where it refers to the nation as a whole). /e.g. "Everything about America is different from other countries," would be coded as 002 in the D. Kols. "I like it," is coded as 101. "America is better," is coded 101. "America is worse or bad," is coded 201./

02. Confused response - R. digresses and tells you something about his personal life or any other unrelated topic. /Do not code as 02 a reference to R.'s personal activities that can be coded 10./

37. Confused geographic response - (e.g. "America is a city," "America is the world.")

03. Nominalist response - "America is just a name." "It's just what we call it." "It's just a word."

04. R. mentions Naturalization Process - A person becomes a citizen by living here for five years, taking a test, etc.

05. An American is a citizen. "He's a citizen."

27. Strength of America - general. "It's a great country, great power."

09. Uncodeable response - All responses which cannot otherwise be coded. /These responses must be circled on the interview protocol./

APPENDIX D. GOVERNMENT MASTER CODE

GENERAL CODES

00. No response - No further response; I don't know. (Do not use this code except to fill in the blanks after all meaningful responses have been coded.)

01. Undifferentiated response - The whole thing, "it," where it refers to the government as a whole, (e.g. "The American Government is different from other governments." "I like it." "It's good or bad.")

02. Confused response - R. clearly evidences that he has no conception of what government is. (Do not confuse this code with the following four codes.)

03. Confused response -- Government is a person - unspecified

04. Confused response -- Government is a person - the President

05. Confused response -- Government is a person - Governor Rockefeller

06. Confused response -- Government is a person - other specific (Circle the response.)

09. Uncodeable response - All responses which cannot otherwise be coded. (These responses must be circled on the interview protocol.)

PEOPLE AND PERSONS

10. Reference to the people or the public - (e.g. The people are the government.)

11. Reference to the President - (past or present)

12. R. mentions Political Leaders - general (e.g. "The government is our leaders." "The authorities." "The people who rule.")

13. R. mentions political leaders or authorities - specific (e.g. Senators, Congressmen, Mayor Sedita, etc.)

14. R. mentions other authority figures - (e.g. teachers, principals, etc.)

15. R. mentions police or policemen.

INSTITUTIONS AND PROCESSES

20. References to Institutions general or other specific.

21. Congress

22. Courts

23. Political Parties - (including pressure groups)

24. Elections

25. The Decision-Making Process -- (The way they decide things.)

26. The Governing Process -- (The way they run things.)

27. R. refers to government as a system or rules or laws.

28. Rules and Laws as Output of Government - General

29. Rules or Laws - Specific (R. mentions a specific rule or law. Circle it.)

FUNCTIONS OF GOVERNMENT

30. General Administrative mechanism in society - R. believes that the government runs (almost) everything in society (e.g. "The government runs things.")

31. Maintains Order in Society - (e.g. "It prevents chaos," "It insures the safety of the people," "It reduces conflict in society.")

32. Controls the people - Tells the people what to do.

33. Leadership function - It leads the people

34. Protection function - It protects or defends the people or country.

35. Aid function - It helps the people

36. Donor function - It gives the people things

37. Construction function - It builds things

38. Clerical function - It keeps records

39. Problem-Solving function - It handles problems

40. Legislative function - It makes laws

41. Enforcement function - It enforces the laws

42. Judicial function

43. Administrative function - It administers the programs that are passed

44. Policy-Making function - It sets policy

45. Decision-Making function - It makes decisions

46. Helps the President

47. General activity response - They do things (type, write, etc.)

DOMESTIC POLICY

50. Domestic policy - general

51. Taxes

52. Draft policy

53. Economic policy

54. Poverty program or welfare policy

55. Civil rights policy

56. Policy on Riots

57. Educational policy

58. Space program

59. Domestic policy - other specific (Circle the response)

FOREIGN POLICY

60. Foreign policy - general

61. Defense policy

62. Relations with Communist countries

63. Vietnam or Southeast Asia

64. Cuba

65. Foreign aid

69. Foreign policy - other specific (Circle it)

POLITICAL PRINCIPLES

70. R. mentions form of government - (e.g. Dictatorship, totalitarian, republic, etc.)

71. Reference to Ideology - (Communism, Socialism, Liberalism, Conservatism, etc.)

72. Democracy - general ("In America, we have a democracy")

73. Democracy - Participation of the people response (e.g. "In the American government, the people have a say.")

74. Democracy - Majority Rule response - (e.g. "In the American government, it's what the majority wants that counts.")

75. Democarcy - Minority Rights responses - (e.g. "In America, the minorities have their rights also.")

76. Democracy - Consent of the Governed response - (e.g. "In America, we have the kind of government the people want.")

77. Democracy - Responsiveness of the Government response - (e.g. "The American government does what the people want.")

78. Democracy - Information of the People response - (e.g. "The people have a right to know what is going on.")

79. The Government adheres to the Principles upon which it is based

80. Freedom - general (including "liberty," "You can do what you want.")

81. Freedom of speech, press, assembly

82. Freedom of Religion

83. Freedom of Mobility - ("You can go where you want.")

84. Justice

85. Fairness

86. Equality - general

87. Equality of opportunity

88. The Rights of Citizens - (including "natural rights," "due process responses," "the rights of suspects.")

89. R. mentions the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, or the Declaration of Independence

OTHER

90. References to politics - general

91. References to geographical places or buildings - (e.g. "The government is a city," "Washington, D.C.," "The Lincoln Memorial." "The government is a building.")

92. References to Symbols - flags, songs, statues, pledge of allegiance

93. Reference to the Size of government

94. Reference to the Power or Cohesion of Government

95. Reference to the effort of government - ("They try.")

96. Reference to the Efficiency of Government

97. Reference to the Adaptability of Government - (e.g. "The American government is always changing.")

APPENDIX E. AUTHORITY-LEADERSHIP MASTER CODE

GENERAL CODES

00. No response - no further response; I don't know. (Do not use this code except to fill in the blanks after all meaningful responses have been coded.)

01. Undifferentiated response - "he," "them," where the reference is to all of them or the whole thing. (e.g. "I like him," "they were bad leaders")

02. Confused response - shows no understanding of social or political authorities or social or political leaders.

03. R. mentions God in discussing leaders or authorities.

04. R. mentions people other than political leaders in discussing leaders or authorities (e.g. parents, teachers)

09. Uncodeable response - All responses which cannot otherwise be coded. (Circle the response on the interview protocol.)

INDIVIDUAL QUALITIES OF LEADERS

10. Physical appearance - R. mentions the physical appearance of leaders (e.g. "President Kennedy was handsome.").

11. Home or family life - R. mentions the home or family life of leaders (e.g. "The President eats lunch with his family").

12. Material possessions - R. mentions the physical or material possessions of leaders (e.g. "Leaders always have big cars").

13. Personal activities - R. mentions the personal (non-political and non-job oriented) activities of leaders. (e.g. "The President plays golf").

18. Articulate people - good speakers, etc.

19. Authoritarian people -- mean people, punitative peoples, "bullies"

PERSONAL QUALITIES OF LEADERS

20. Competence - R. describes leaders as competent, dependable in their job, experienced

21. Knowledgeable - R. describes leaders as knowledgeable, intelligent, or well-informed

22. Hard-working (include ambitious)

23. Powerful - R. describes leaders as powerful, important, influential, etc.

24. Benevolent - R. describes leaders as kind, caring, good to people, loving, not punitive. (Do not confuse with 26.)

25. Helpful - R. describes leaders as helpful.

26. Ethical - R. describes leaders as honest, trustworthy, moral, or "good men" (Do not confuse with 24.)

27. Wealthy - R. describes leaders as rich people.

28. Common - R. describes leaders as just average or ordinary people

29. Other personal qualities - R. mentions other personal or personality qualities of leaders. (Circle the response on the interview protocol.)

ROLE RELEVANT RESPONSES

30. General activity response - R. mentions clerical or non-specific job-oriented activities of leaders (e.g. "The President types a letter." "Leaders work at their jobs.")

31. Executive or Administrative Function - R. mentions problem-solving or decision-making behavior or states that leaders "run things" or "supervise the country."

32. Order maintainance function - R. mentions that leaders maintain order, prevent chaos, reduce or manage conflict in society, ensure the safety of the people, etc.

33. Leadership function - R. describes leaders or authorities as those who lead the people. (Do not confuse with 46.)

34. Legislative function - R. mentions making, signing, or vetoing legislation or laws.

35. Enforcement function - R. mentions that leaders or authorities enforce the laws.

36. Judicial function - R. mentions that leaders or authorities judge people or things.

37. Budgetary function - R. mentions that leaders raise taxes, spend monies, or decide on spending matters.

38. Communicative function - R. mentions that leaders communicate with the people, make speeches, visit people, etc.

39. Coordination function - R. mentions that leaders coordinate with other leaders.

40. Political function - R. mentions that leaders campaign, run for office, get elected, etc.

41. Representative function - R. mentions that leaders represent the people. (Do not confuse with 42 or 43.)

42. Symbolic function - R. mentions that leaders stand for or represent the nation. (e.g. "The President represents the nation.") (Do not confuse with 41 or 43.)

43. Diplomatic function - R. mentions that leaders conduct foreign policy or otherwise handle foreign affairs. (Do not confuse with 41 or 42.) (Do not confuse with specific references to foreign policy coded as 60's.)

44. Aid function - R. mentions that leaders help the people. (Do not confuse with 45, 46, 47, or 48.)

45. Donor function - R. mentions that leaders give things to the people. (Do not confuse with 44, 46, 47, or 48.)

46. Protection function - R. mentions that leaders protect the people. (Do not confuse with 44, 45, 47, or 48.)

47. Normative function - R. mentions that leaders set high normative standards (e.g. "They tell us what to do," "do good things," "keep us from being bad," "tell the people what is right.") (Do not confuse with 33, 44, 45, 46, or 48.)

48. Benevolent function - R. mentions ways in which leaders are benevolent other than those ways listed in 44, 45, 46 or 47.

49. Protector of the Constitutional Order function - R. mentions that leaders provide or protect liberty, freedom, democracy, equality, or some other element of our Constitutional system.

POLICY RELATED RESPONSES -- DOMESTIC

50. Domestic Policy - R. mentions general domestic policy in discussing leaders.

51. Services to children - R. mentions policy services for children (e.g. "The President gets us more swings or playgrounds.")

52. Draft policy - R. mentions draft policy in discussing leaders.

53. Economic policy or taxes mentioned.

54. Poverty Program or Welfare Policy mentioned

55. Civil Rights Policy mentioned

56. Policy on Riots mentioned

57. Educational policy mentioned

58. Space Program mentioned

59. Domestic Policy - Other Specific policy mentioned (Circle the response on the interview protocol.)

POLICY RELATED RESPONSES--FOREIGN

60. Foreign Policy - General - R. mentions general foreign policy in discussing leaders. (Do not confuse with 43.)

61. Defense policy mentioned. (Do not confuse with 43.)

62. Pursuit of Peace mentioned. (Do not confuse with 43.)

63. Policy toward Communist countries mentioned.

64. Southeast Asia policy mentioned

65. Cuban policy mentioned

66. Foreign Aid mentioned

69. Foreign Policy - Other Specific policy mentioned (Circle the response on the interview protocol.)

MISCELLANEOUS CODES

70. Specific political authority roles mentioned in discussing leaders (e.g. "Senators," "policemen")

71. Political Institutions or Processes mentioned in discussing leaders

72. Control by the people response - In discussing leaders, R. mentions that they are controlled by the people.

73. R. mentions the need for obedience to leaders

74. R. mentions historical figures (e.g. "George Washington") with no elaboration or mention of personal qualities, role relevant responses, or policies. To be used when R. merely mentions the name of an historical figure.

75. R. mentions "politics" or "politicians" (not campaigning or elections) (e.g. "Nixon is just a politician").

76. R. mentions specific persons who do not occupy formal political authority roles but who are quasi-political figures (e.g. Ralph Nader, R. Rap Brown, Martin Luther King, Jr.).

APPENDIX F. LAW MASTER CODE

GENERAL CODES

00. No response; no further response; I don't know (Do not use this code except to fill in the blanks after all meaningful responses have been coded.)

01. Undifferentiated response - the whole thing, "it," or "them" where the reference is to laws in general (e.g. "they're pretty good")

02. Confused response - R. clearly evidences that he has no conception or an incorrect conception of rules or laws

03. R. mentions non-political authority figures in discussing rules or laws (e.g. his parents)

04. R. mentions God in discussing rules or laws

05. R. mentions conscience in discussing rules or laws

09. Uncodeable response - all responses which cannot otherwise be coded. (These responses must be circled on the interview protocol.)

FUNCTIONS OF LAWS

10. Obedience function - rules or laws exist to be obeyed or to make you obey.

11. Prevention ot violence and crime function - laws or rules prevent personal violence or crime

12. Protection function - laws protect the people; keep the people safe

13. Aid function - laws help the people; provide for the people; give them things

14. Restrictive function - laws restrict, prohibit, prevent, keep people in line, tell you what you can't do

15. Punishment function - laws punish people

16. Guidance function - laws guide us; tell people what they can or should do

17. Regulation function - laws prevent conflict in society; encourage agreement; mantain society; prevent riots

18. Organization function - laws run the country

19. Instrumental function - laws are a means of attaining some social purpose

20. Legitimization of social customs function - laws legitimize a decision or agreement of the people to do or not to do certain things

MISCELLANEOUS CODES

26. R. defines rules as laws or laws as rules (no further specification)

27. R. describes rules or laws as outputs of government (e.g. "they're what the government makes")

28. R. gives an example of a rule of law that is not codeable as to function

29. R. mentions law makers (e.g. Congress, the President as lawmaker)

30. R. mentions law enforcement officials (e.g. policemen, the President as enforcer of the law)

31. R. mentions courts or other aspects of the legal or judicial system

32. R. mentions in some detail the specific legislative process by which laws are made

33. R. mentions public reaction to laws (except obedience)

34. R. mentions fairness in discussing rules or laws

35. R. mentions political principles such as justice or freedom in discussing rules or laws